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*SURVIVALS OF IRANIAN CULTURE AMONG
CAUCASIAN HIGHLANDERS.*

AS soon as leaving Rostov you cross the Don, the Tanais of the ancients, you are said, by the local Cosack inhabitants, to be in Asia. All the people of the Caucasus have but one name in the minds of the Cosacks, namely that of Asiatics. It seems that on the whole this popular nomenclature is far from being so wrong as is generally supposed; recent researches bring us to the conclusion that in the earlier part of the Middle Ages, a powerful people known under the name of "Ass" or "Oss," the forefathers of the modern "Ossetes," did occupy a good part of the southern steppes of the present Russian Empire.

A Russian philologist, whose speciality is the study of Sanskrit, Mr. Vsevolod Miller of Moscow, has recently discovered that more than one personal surname to be found in the Greek inscriptions coming from the southern parts of Russia, and collected by Mr. Latkin, has a definite meaning in the Osset language, which has much in common with the Persian and other Iranian dialects. It seems also that the name under which the old Tanais is known in our days, is the same employed by the Ossetes to designate "water" in general, "rivers" and "springs" in particular, the name "Don."

I do not see any reason for fighting against the supposition that the name of Asia itself comes from the people that were known to inhabit its European border from the times of grey antiquity, the Ossetes or the Ass, who are mentioned by Byzantine authors.

Although the most numerous, the Ossetes are by no means the sole people of undoubted Aryan descent to be found among the inhabitants of the Caucasus; the "Iesides," not to speak of Kourds and Armenians, are also Aryans, and this fact is the more interesting because it is generally accepted that the "Iesides" are the oldest inhabitants of the Caspian shore that had to be fought by the conquering Arabs who introduced the Coran. Obligated to remove to high mountains, these Iesides are still to be found in the neighbourhood of the Ararat. They speak their own dialect, very like that of the Kourds, and although officially recognised to be Christians, still mention the names of "Ormud" and "Ahriman."

Even among people of non-Aryan blood, the Georgian tribes of the Chevsurs, Pschavs and Tuschins, inhabiting the highest valleys of the central chain, more than one survival of Iranian culture is to be found, as will appear by a minute research into their religious creed and the different ceremonies followed on occasion of burials, marriages, and other solemn circumstances of life.

This early influence of Iranian culture ought not to be confounded with the posterior infusion of Persian customs and institutions. The Shahs having been more than once the recognised rulers of the Georgian kingdom, and principalities dependant upon Persia having existed for whole centuries on the Caspian shore, no wonder that more than one feature of Persian habits, mode of life, and legal ideas, has been preserved as well in Georgia, as in the Daghestan, specially on the border of the sea from Derbent to Bakou and Lencoran. The inhabitants of each of the cities just named are the undoubted successors of Persian colonies. Even the Jews, living in the neighbourhood of Derbent, speak a Persian dialect which, according to Professor Vsevolod Miller, gives us a fair idea of what Mediæval Persian must have been.¹ The "Talisch" of the Lencoran province, as well as the Tats, established in the villages surrounding the famous city of Bakou, possess even in our days, some legal customs, the origin of which is to be looked for in Persian legislation. Cruel punishments, totally unknown to the customary law of surrounding tribes, as the gallows, cutting the

¹ Some of the Jewish families of Derbent having migrated to the Northern Caucasus, we find in the borough of Nalchik, situated not far away from the Elbrous, a whole set of persons still using Mediæval Persian.

body of a criminal to pieces, and decapitating the king, etc., are the remnants of this draconian legislation, now only preserved in the memory of aged men, but a few years ago applied by the Zhans and tributary princes, as for instance by the hereditary schamchale of Torky and the elective Uzmi of Kaitag.

The same Persian influence may be ascertained by a minute survey of the matrimonial regulations of the Ossetes, the most numerous and prevailing tribe of the Northern Caucasus. These people, whose southern ramifications go as far as Gori, a town situated on the southern side of the central chain, in the Government of Tiflis, call themselves "Iron," a fact strongly militating in favour of my presumption that they are but a detached branch of the people of old Iran.

Three different sorts of sexual relationship are known to exist among them; concubinage, marriage contracted for life, and free union for a limited number of years. I have not much to say of the first, concubinage being generally entered into with female slaves very frequently during the period directly preceding the establishment of the Russian Government among the Ossetes. As to the last two modes of sexual relationship, they are both inaugurated in the same way, I mean by purchase, the wife being regularly bought from her parents; the payment is a larger one in the first case, and a smaller in the second. No religious rites are performed when marriage is contracted only for a couple of years. A powerful or rich family is not likely to give its consent to such a union, but it seems quite acceptable to less prosperous people. The wife obtained on such terms is generally spoken of among the Ossetes as a wife by name (nomoulous); her children, the so-called "cavdasards," occupy a position which is neither that of legitimate off-spring, nor of bastards. They are supposed to belong to the family of their father as a common stock. In case of a division, they cannot be forced to follow one person in preference to another, and select as a rule their new master by themselves, choosing him from among the legitimate heirs of their father.

If the legitimate family is extinguished, the cavdasards are called to the inheritance of the family estate.

A peculiar feature of this very strange mode of matrimonial existence is the right accorded by custom to the legal proprietor of the nomoulous to let her out to strangers, under the express condition that the children she might bear will be considered as his own. This reminds us of the "niyoga"² marriage of the Hindus,

² See as to details the learned work of Mayne, *Hindu Law and Custom*.

with this difference, however, that the Hindu custom obtained only in the case where the legal husband was likely to die without an heir to his family and estate.

The peculiar interest which these matrimonial regulations of the Ossetes have for our inquiry appears as soon as we confront them with the information which French travellers of the seventeenth century, Chinon, Chardin, and Tavernier, give us of the Persian law concerning marriage.

I will quote Chinon as the one who first treated the subject in detail; Chardin and Tavernier repeating only what he had said before them: "Ils ont trois sortes de mariages," the French Jesuit informs us, speaking of the Persians of his days. "Le premier est un qu'ils appellent 'Mouttia,' comme qui diroit usage, et c'est celui par lequel les femmes s'obligent à eux pour un tems déterminé à condition de quelque récompense. Et apres ce tems ils sont obligés de les laisser aller s'ils ne font de nouveau un autre contract. Ces mariages de prostitution se font avec peu de cérémonie, parceque le tout ne consiste qu'à dire trois paroles, qu'ils appellent 'Sigue.' Ils nomment la seconde sorte de mariage 'Cassé' comme qui diroit propre: et en effet, ce sont leurs propres esclaves, dont ils se peuvent servir comme il leur plait, nonobstant les repugnances de leurs maîtresses . . . Le troisième se nomme 'Necach' . . . C'est là leur plus noble mariage," etc.³

Let me add two more peculiar points to this curious information. I will apply for these to the Chevalier Chardin, whose description of the Persian Empire is certainly the most detailed and trustworthy traveller's account that has ever been written. According to Chardin a marriage for time can easily become a marriage for life, as nothing stands in the way of hiring a woman for the term of ninety years. As to the children begotten from such marriages Chardin points to the fact, that in the absence of legal inheritance, they are authorised to divide among themselves the inheritance left by their father.⁴

Although marriages for a limited time are, as a rule, admitted by the Coran, under the name of "Mota," this Arabian custom has been preserved to our days only among the Schiites, Sunnites having already abolished it under the Khalifat of Omar.⁵ The Ossetes being neither Christians nor Sunnites, the prevalence of the

³ *Relations Nouvelles du Levant*, Lyon, 1671 (p. 105), the name of the author is indicated only by the initials.

⁴ *Journal du Voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales*, Londres, 1686, vi., p. 268.

⁵ See Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern*, p. 1-33.

"Mota" among them cannot be explained otherwise than by the theory of a direct influence of Persian civilization, the Shahs having been more than once the acknowledged rulers of Georgia, of which the Ossetes were tributary dependants. The cases just mentioned refer only to a later Iranian influence. Those I intend to mention now will, I hope, leave no doubt that the old culture of several Caucasian tribes is of the same root as that possessed by the followers of the Avesta. First of all let me mention some legal customs, the origin of which, as far as I know, can only be explained by reference to the Zend-Avesta.

A residence of several weeks among the native tribes of Daghestan, whose geographical situation itself speaks in favour of their intimate intercourse with Persia, has opened my eyes to the great importance which ought to be attributed to old Persian influences in this recently reduced province of the Russian Empire. One feature specially must be mentioned here: the wide prevalence of "endogamy," so characteristic of the ancient Persians, and not to be found among other tribes of the Caucasus, who have the greatest horror of any marriage even among persons of the same blood, or better to say, possessing the same family, sometimes even the same gentile name.

This prevalence of endogamy cannot be accounted for by religious influences, Mahomedanism being adverse only to intermarrying with infidels; it is also not to be considered a general feature of the Caucasian tribes, as it is not to be found among the Chechens and Tartars, the nearest northern and southern neighbours of the Daghestanians. It is more probable therefore that it has been imported here in very remote antiquity, when it was a common feature among the Iranian tribes.⁶

How far endogamy still prevails in the Daghestan may be seen from the fact, that in cases where the number of unmarried female relations is very limited, and no appropriate match can be made within the same family or tribe, no marriage with a foreign girl is admitted unless she becomes previously by way of adoption a member of the family of her bridegroom.

The fact that the Yaçna precisely expresses its predilection for marriage with consanguines ("Connubium cum propinquis laudo"), as well as the prevalence of endogamy among the modern

⁶ As to the prevalence of endogamy among ancient Persians, see the able paper of Rodolphe Dareste, member of the Institute, entitled "*Le droit ancien des Perses*," Paris, 1887, as also Abel Hovelacque's interesting chapter on marriage among the old Persians (*L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme*, Paris, 1880, p. 461-469).

Parsees,⁷ those faithful followers of the Zoroastrian creed, leave no doubt as to the high antiquity and thoroughly Iranian origin of the matrimonial prescriptions imposed by custom on the Daghestanian tribes.

I could mention also some other legal points, on which the customs of the Caucasian tribes are similar to the rules prescribed by the Avesta. But, unfortunately, we know little of what one might call the jurisprudence of the Avesta, the greater part of the work having been lost, and I am afraid for ever. On the other hand, the few legal notions contained in the preserved parts of the sacred books of the old Persians, and specially in the Vendidad, only give such vague and general definitions and precepts that it is not easy to say if these could not also be found among people who had no connection whatever with Iranian culture. This is precisely the case with the rules that regulate the law of contracts. It is well known how much the Avesta insists on the necessity of keeping covenants. Few words have reached us applying to the way in which, according to Iranian legislation, the covenants ought to be contracted. The symbolic act, imposed on such occasions, is the one of shaking hands. Now, it is precisely the same which is recognised as binding by the customary law not only of the Ossetes, but also of the eastern tribes of the Caucasus, and specially the Daghestanians. Although I am very much inclined to think that the Avesta has something to do with this general recognition of the binding power of such an act as hand-shaking, I must confess, at the same time, that its importance for the liability of contracts is just as well accepted by people whose culture has not been directly influenced by the Avesta, among others by the Russian peasants and Russian customary law.

If the survey of legal customs, still in existence among the different tribes of the Caucasus, only enriches us with a small number of facts, directly proving the influence of the Iranian culture, a detailed account of their religious rites, manners and habits leaves no doubt as to the prevalence among them at some very remote period of their history, of the same religious creed as that which was familiar to the people of the Avesta.

I have already said a word or two about the belief in the good and bad genius, still entertained by the Iesides of the Erivan province. Their daily prayer, described by Mr. Egiasarov, is on this point

⁷ Speaking of the Parsees, Anquetil du Peyron says: the alliance they like best is the so-called "Khescha" or "Khetoudas," it is the marriage of cousins. Khetoudas, meaning the fact of "giving one's relation."

highly characteristic, as it mentions the hope, generally entertained by the followers of the Avesta, that the good spirit will at the end have the best of the bad one, and that in this way an end will be put to their eternal struggle.

I shall say no more on this subject, but leave it to those interested to read the able paper of the young Russian scholar, who was one of my best pupils at the University of Moscow.⁸

What I intend to do next is to call the attention of the reader to a very small, but exceedingly interesting tribe of the Caucasus, the Chevsurs, whom I investigated during last summer. The chief interest which, until lately, this people had in the eyes of Russian Archæologists, was its supposed descent from the crusaders. It is a fact reported by the Georgian Chronicles, that at the time of the crusade, the end of which was the establishment of the Latin principality in Constantinople, a considerable number of crusaders took the way of Georgia. During their journey through the mountains they were met by native tribes, dispersed and partly enslaved. A few of them were happy enough to escape from bondage by taking refuge in the highest valleys of the central chain.

This was the fate of the supposed ancestors of the modern Chevsurs, and some inducement to believe it seems to be given by the fact that they still wear crosses on different parts of their dress and appear on solemn occasions in a knightly attire. But this attire being of the same kind as that used in the Daghestan, and there existing no doubt as to the Persian origin of this tribe, the theory of the Latin origin of the Chevsurs must at all events forsake this sort of argument. It is true that the swords of the Chevsurs are very like those of mediæval Europe, not curved as the oriental ones, but straight, and that some are covered with genuine or counterfeited Latin inscriptions; but this fact is easily accounted for by reference to the Genoese colonies established on the Black Sea, and their continual commercial and military intercourse with the native races.

As to the dress of the Chevsurs, the chief characteristic of which are the multifarious crosses that adorn it, Georgian scholars have assured me that it is very like the one worn by the ancient guard of their kings.⁹

⁸ See the bulletins of the Imperial Geographical Society, Caucasian Section, (a. 1886), where the papers of Mr. Egiasarov first appeared.

⁹ Monsieur Chantre in his voluminous work on the Caucasus is the last writer who has repeated the old tale about the Chevsurs being direct descendants of Crusaders. Although I strongly oppose this view, I must mention the fact, that in more than one corner of the Caucasus a legend is still preserved about a

A fact that seems to militate strongly against the supposed Latin origin of the Chevsurs is their language, which is no other than the old Georgian, the same in which the Holy Scripture has been translated.

Similarly, the manners, and the general mode of life, as well as the religious rites and superstitious beliefs, to which we will now turn our attention, speak more in favour of the prevalence among them of early Iranian, than of mediæval Latin culture.

Let us first mention one peculiar and very characteristic feature: I mean the great importance they attach to physical purity. The objects they consider impure, as also the modes of purification which are still in use among them, remind us of more than one prescription of the Avesta. To start with, I will mention the fact that women at the time of menstruation and pregnancy are considered by the Chevsurs to be impure. To escape the bad influence which any contact with them might produce, such women are ordered to retire from the household and to pass their days and nights in buildings specially made for that purpose; as a rule, at some distance from the homestead.

The child once born, his mother after a stay of several days in the building, where she passed the time of her confinement, is allowed to return home, but not before she has washed herself with the urine of cows. After this the building is regularly destroyed.

The body of a dead person is also considered to be impure. No relation can touch it; strangers of low birth, known under the name of "Narevi," take the body of the deceased and bring it to a place specially prepared for it and situated in the middle of the court. The same "Narevi" have also to manage everything relating to the burial. They perform all this work for good pay, living all the time by themselves, taking their food in private and having no permission to address anybody on account of their supposed uncleanness. After the body has been exposed in fresh air, during five or seven days, it is covered first with white, and then with red cloth, and deposited in the grave. This mode of burial is of comparatively recent origin, but survivals of an earlier one are still to be found. During my journey through the valleys inhabited by the

foreign people, called Frenghi. To those who would like to translate this word by Franchi (French), I will mention only this fact, that among Latin inscriptions, found on the swords of Caucasian natives, the following is the most common one—"Fringia." I do not know the meaning of this word, but I think that the name Frenghi is more likely to come from the inscriptions found on the spades, than from French colonists, established in the valleys of the Caucasus.

Chevsurs, I visited on several occasions their old burial places. They are, as a rule, situated on the summit of hills. In shape they are like a prolonged quadrangle; they are constructed of stones put together without cement, and have two entrances, one on the southern and one on the northern side. Let us get into one of them for a moment to have a view of its interior arrangements. On both sides of a passage way which is left free, stone ledges at a certain level from the earth are to be seen with the mummified bodies of the deceased either sitting or lying on them. Different objects, belonging to everyday life, but no armour, are found in these burial places, where the wind freely enters and birds are likely to come.

The high importance of all the details we have given, will be at once perceived as soon as we have confronted them with the religious rites prescribed by the Avesta and still in use among the Parsees of India.

First of all, as to the uncleanness of women at the time of pregnancy and menstruation, the Avesta contains the following prescription; I will make my quotations out of the French translation, given to the corresponding text by Mr. Hovelacque, the well-known Zéndish scholar. "Si une femme aperçoit du sang quand trois nuits se sont écoulées, elle doit se placer dans un lieu solitaire, jusqu'à ce que quatre nuits se soient écoulées. Si la femme voit du sang quand quatre nuits se sont écoulées, elle doit se placer dans un lieu solitaire jusqu'à ce que cinq nuits se soient écoulées," etc.¹⁰ And, as an illustration of the practical way in which these more or less theoretical prescriptions were executed in every-day life, let me give another quotation, this time from Tavernier and relating to the Guèbres, the still preserved followers of the Zoroastrian creed: "Dès que les femmes ou les filles sentent qu'elles ont leurs ordinaires, elles sortent promptement de leur logis, et vont demeurer seules à la campagne dans une petite hute faite de trois clayes, avec une toille pendue au devant et qui sert de porte. Pendant le temps que cela dure on leur porte tous les jours à boire et à manger."¹¹

To conclude, I will mention that the urine of cows used by Chevsur women is precisely the mode of purification recommended by the Avesta, and still in use among the few remaining followers of this creed, as may be seen in the accounts given of them by travellers of the seventeenth and following centuries.

¹⁰ Abel Hovelacque, *op. cit.* p. 392.

¹¹ *Six Voyages en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*, Paris 1676-79, x. iii., p. 437.

Further, if we turn our attention to the idea that the Avesta entertains as to the impurity of a dead body, we shall be brought to the conclusion that it is precisely the same as the one we have mentioned, speaking of the Chevsurs.

The books v.-viii. of the Vendidad treat of this subject at length; the mode of burial they recommend coincides exactly with the general idea about the impurity of any man who has touched the corpse. It is, therefore, only on the lowest class of people that the duty of taking the body of the deceased to the place of his eternal rest is imposed by law; any relation with them, either by direct contact or by taking food in common, is totally prohibited as implying pollution. If we compare this mode of burial with the one recently in use among the supposed crusaders, we cannot help recognizing their perfect identity. Neither deposition in the grave, nor cremation of the dead body is admitted by the Avesta, both causing, according to its authors, pollution of the chief elements, fire and earth. Anquetil du Peyron is correct in his statement, when he gives the following description of the places of burial, the so-called Dakhme, still in use among the present adherents of the Zoroastrian creed: "*L'Aveste ordonne de porter le corps des morts sur des montagnes, ou dans des endroits éloignés des villes et de toute terre habitée. Il faut que ces endroits soient au moins à trente gâms (90 pieds) du feu, de l'eau,*" etc.

The following passage of the sacred book of the Zends might be applied without reserve to the Chevsurs: "*Créateur! où devons nous porter les cadavres, où devons nous les déposer? Ahura Mazda répondit: O saint Zarathustra, aux lieux très élevés, où les chiens et les oiseaux carnassiers peuvent le mieux les apercevoir.*"

But before the corpse is brought to its place of eternal rest it has to pass several days and nights on a plot of ground in the vicinity of the homestead, where the deceased was living. This place must be situated at a certain distance from the fire and the water, to make impossible any pollution of these elements. The dead body, according to the Avesta, must wear no dress so that the flesh might easily be consumed by dogs and carnivorous birds. When this has been done and every sort of uncleanness has disappeared in this way, the dead body is considered to be purified. The bearers of the corpse, the *naçakasa*, take it to the *dakhma*, or the burial place, which has much in common, as to its building and interior construction, with the ancient burial places of the Chevsurs. Here the bodies are either lying or sitting with their backs close to the wall.

always at a certain distance from the ground floor, for the purpose of preserving the earth from pollution.

To make an end of this rather too minute description of the funeral ceremony of the two people, whose mutual relationship we are anxious to ascertain, I will mention the fact that after the lapse of several generations when the body has fallen to pieces, its bones are ordered by the Avesta to be placed in a common grave, situated beneath the dakhma. The same custom has also recently prevailed among the Chevsurs, who in our days cannot explain its origin, except by referring to the scarcity of evenly situated ground and the necessity of making room for the bodies of newly deceased persons by removing the old ones.

I am far from having exhausted this subject, but the field of our enquiries is so large and we have so many more rites and habits to study and to compare, that I prefer at once to abandon the Chevsurs and to turn my attention to their next neighbours—the Pschavs, whose religious rites present even a greater similitude with those spoken of in the Avesta.

It is not ceremonies and habits that I intend next to examine, but religious beliefs, and especially the idea entertained as to future life. Although, officially, the Pschavs are considered to be Christians, and have temples of their own and an ordinary clergy, they, like the Chevsurs, neither go to church nor acknowledge the regular ministry, who seem to be totally superseded by self-made priests, the so-called Chevsburies or monks of the valley. Few words will be required to make quite clear to the reader what sort of people these monks are, and what part they play in the preservation of ancient customs and beliefs. Tradition says that Christianity has been imported in this part of the Caucasus, as in many others, by a half-mythical and half-historical Queen of Georgia, Tamara. It is extraordinary what a prominent part this lady plays in the legendary history of the Highlanders, appearing at once in the character of a Christian missionary and of a handsome witch, just as cruel to her lovers, as the well-known German Lurley. "She was," to speak with a Russian poet, who has fairly reproduced the popular creed, "charming like an angel, but beseeching and angry like a devil." Whatever she might have been, there is no doubt as to the prominent part she is supposed to have taken in the life of the Highlanders and especially in their conversion to Christianity. Every time, when natives came to speak to me about it, in whatever remote corner it might have been, the name either of Santa Nina or of Tomara was invariably pronounced, unless Jesus Christ himself was mentioned, as by the southern Svane-

tians who pretend that he started for their country to preach the Gospel, but that frightened by the cold and bad roads he turned back and did not adventure his life in the mountains. To preach Christianity among the Pschavs, Tomara selected a Greek monk by the name of Kopala, who, not being able to accomplish this difficult task by himself, selected among the natives a certain number of persons, who from their places of abode in the depths of mountainous valleys received the name of chevsburies or monks of the valleys.

I must say that what legend tells us about Kopala and his monks does not impress on our minds the idea of Christian missionaries, but rather of a sort of Iranian priests or "magi" engaged in a continual struggle with bad spirits, wearing the same name as the one under which they are known to the Avesta, the name of "devi," and very frequently appearing in the shape of serpents. The religious rites which chevsburies are called upon to perform, are a mixture of those prescribed by the sacred books of the Christians and those of the ancient Persians.

Every time when an ablution with water is performed by them on the body of a new-born child, it is difficult to say if we have before us the solemn celebration of a Christian rite, or the application of the following rule, plainly stated in the Avesta: "When a child is born, let first his hands be washed, and then his whole body," probably on account of the impurity to which he was exposed in the womb of his mother.

There is a more direct likeness between the holy sacrament and the fact that sick persons generally are induced, among the Pschavs, to swallow a cup of beer with a small piece of bread thrown into it.

As to the sacrifices by which the chevsburies on certain days periodically return honour to God and the Archangel George, much better known by those people than Jesus Christ himself, they are of a thoroughly Pagan character. The officiating chevsbury, like the Persian magus, divides the flesh of the victim (an ox, a cow, or a sheep) among the assistants, leaving nothing to the divinity. Such proceedings remind us of the well-known text of Strabo about the ancient Persians; "*Sacrificant in loco mundo precati et adducta hostia coronata, ubi magus qui sacrificium administrat, carnes in portiones distribuerit, sua quisque accepta abeunt nulla parte diis relicta; dicunt enim deum nihil velle praeter hostiae animam*," (ed. Didot, p. 623).

The fact, that in the accomplishment of his sacrificial duties, the chevsbury, otherwise called decanose, is attended among the

Chevsurs by a special help-man, wearing the same name of "dastur," as the one given to the higher clergy by the Avesta, must also be mentioned here, as militating in favour of the supposition, that chevsuries are the direct successors of the Persian "magi." The chief business of these dasturs is to prepare a sort of black-beer, very like the English porter. This beer is distributed to the people, who, as a rule, make such good use of it, that towards the evening everybody is generally drunk, women only excepted, these "impure persons" not being admitted to the places consecrated to divinity.

Let me say now a word or two of these places themselves. They are, as a rule, situated on some mountain or hill, and consist of a stone building with two separate rooms, one occupied by large pots, which serve to prepare the beer; the other being the ordinary abode of the attendant or "dastur." No images or sculptural representations of God or saints are to be seen in them. As a rule, old trees surround the place of the people's meeting, nobody daring to touch anything of which divinity itself or the saint is considered to be the legal proprietor. Now, compare this description with what Herodotus tells us about the Persians being opposed to the representation of the divinity by statues, possessing no temples or altars, and we shall find one more reason to think that the religious creed of the Pschavs and the Chevsurs has a great deal in common with the one prescribed by the Avesta.

A special discussion on the belief entertained by these people as to future life, will, I hope, leave no doubt as to the intimate connection between the Iranian culture and the one we find among these Georgian Highlanders. But before entering into any details on this subject, I consider it suitable to assure the reader that he ought to have no fear as to the accuracy of the statements that will be brought forward. I am perfectly conscious of the fact, that a cautious reader is generally adverse to believe every thing that a traveller is supposed to have seen with his own eyes or heard by his own ears. And very often the cautious reader is right, the popular prejudice against "Travellers' Tales" being justified by experience. Always in a hurry, just as busy to have his breakfasts and dinners served at the right hour as to get information from the best imaginable sources, a traveller too often relies on the impossibility of any control of the assertions he makes. "*Allez voir pour y croire*," he is sometimes inclined to say with the French poet Musset, whose statements concerning the East, where he confessed never to have been, are just as correct as many and many a story told by foreigners about the Highlanders of the Caucasus. Not relying too much myself

on the accuracy of travellers' reports, I have no right to claim greater respect for my own statements. But what I have to say is not exclusively the result of observations, made during a short journey. I have been happy enough to meet with a native school-master, who, during years and years, went on collecting information on his country people.¹² Russian officials, and among them the coroner Chudadov, who passed two years among the Chevsurs and Pschavs, also favoured me with their manuscripts and printed accounts. In this way I have completed my personal observations by the researches made on a large scale by students thoroughly aware of the language and the local conditions of the people among whom they usually reside. It is for this reason that I think more credit may be given to what I have to say on the very delicate questions, which shall presently be treated, questions the very nature of which requires a great amount of cautious and minute study.

The Pschavs, like the majority of the tribes inhabiting the Caucasian Isthmus, believe that the life which awaits us beyond the grave is very like the one we lead: the souls of the deceased ancestors cannot exist without meat, drink or light, which living generations must of course afford them by the way of sacrifice. The prayers the Pschavs use on commemoration feasts plainly state their mode of feeling as to this point: "Our dear deceased," so runs the text of this prayer, "may you enjoy the cakes we prepare for you, and may your souls rejoice at the sight of the fire we have lighted on your behalf. You may make what use you like of every thing we offer you; keep it for yourself, or divide it with those of our dead relatives whose names we are unable to remember at this moment, to honour them with sacrifice. Let also nobody touch your cakes without your permission."

The regular abode of the deceased is known to the Pschavs under the name of Schavet (or eternal darkness). The soul does not reach it immediately after leaving the body: during several days it is supposed to be making its journey to this place of eternal rest. This journey is also adventurous and not to be effected without help. The souls want certain guides, who are no other than the souls of anciently departed relations. The name of these guides is "Mehebri." As to the "Schavet" itself, the imagination of the Pschavs represents it as an immensely large abode, where no other light is to be seen but twilight, which is therefore known to them under the name of "light of the deceased."

¹² The name of this gentleman is Mr. Rasikaschvili.

A large river prevents the access to the Schavet and can be crossed only through a narrow bridge as strait as a hair. The souls of the good alone succeed in making the passage, the others fall down into eternal pain.

More than one feature in this description of the life beyond the grave, and of the way by which it is attained, remind us of the Avestian creed about the souls passing several days in the neighbourhood of the deceased body and reaching the place of eternal rest through a narrow bridge called the Tchinvat, and which in the Avesta has the same character of a tribunal, where good and bad actions are weighed and the souls of the deceased are admitted to enjoy either eternal happiness or eternal pain.

In accordance with Zoroastrian theology the Pschavs believe also in a sort of headman being appointed to rule over the souls, which on their first appearance respectfully bow to him, but the natives are not precise in their statements as to the functions of this headman, although the most important one, the judicial, is just the same as Mithra, Craosa and Rasnu, according to the Avesta, are supposed to possess in common. To conclude on this subject I will call the attention of the reader to the fact that the name by which the Pschavs designate the place of eternal rest is exactly the same as that which the Avesta uses whilst speaking of the bridge the souls have to cross (Schavet, Tchinvat.)

Although the religious creed of the Pschavs might furnish us with many more cases of contact with the one professed by the Avesta, I prefer to terminate this paper by a minute description of the worship, which the Ossetes even on a larger scale than the Pschavs and the Chevsurs profess towards the souls of their deceased ancestors..

In a special work, under the auspices of the Geographical Society of St. Petersburg,¹³ I have entered on this subject at great length. I will not do it again and shall limit myself to the reproduction of such arguments only as directly establish the correspondence of this worship with the one spoken of by the Avesta. I mean the worship of the Fravâshis. But first let me say a word of these last. It is well-known what a prominent part the "souls" are called to play in the religious belief of the Aryan nations, but specially of the Iranian branch of them.

¹³ The precise title of the book I mention is *Modern Custom and Ancient Law*, Moscow, 1886. A fair and able account of it has been given in the *Journal des Savants* of last year by Mr. Rodolphe Dareste, member of the Institute. Mr Morgan has favoured me also with a paper read in the Royal Asiatic Society. A French edition of my book will appear next autumn.

Instead of stating my own opinion on this subject, I prefer to quote what Mr. Harlez, the well known translator of the Avesta, has to say about it. "La conception la plus générale, paraissant le plus fréquemment," according to this author, "est celle qui présente les Fravashis comme les mânes des morts. Ce doit être la plus ancienne car elle appartient au temps Aryaque. Les Fravashis sont les âmes des morts divinisées, comme les mânes latins, les Pitaras védiques. De nombreux textes l'attestent. Ainsi nous lisons au Yagna xvii. 41 'Nous honorons les lumières éternelles du sein desquelles habitent les âmes des morts qui sont les Fravashis des Saints.' Comme tels les Fravashis protègent spécialement leurs familles, leurs demeures; ils y reviennent pour voir si on les honore ce qu'on désire d'eux," etc.

To this general statement let me add a few texts in the translation given to them by Mr. Harlez himself.

"Honorons les bons, puissants et saints Fravashis des justes qui reviennent au viç (which according to Mr. Spiegel means a village, inhabited by persons of the same gentile name)—désirant connaître le secours qu'on leur demande: 'Qui veut chanter nos louanges, qui veut nous offrir un sacrifice, qui nous exaltera, nous bénira? Qui nous traitera avec reconnaissance d'une main pourvue de viande et de vêtements? Duquel d'entre nous préférera-t-on le nom? De qui d'entre vous honorera-t-on l'âme par un sacrifice? Auquel de nous présentera-t-on cette offrande qui lui soit une nourriture que l'on mange, une nourriture indestructible à jamais, à toujours.' Si quelque homme leur offre un sacrifice d'une main munie de viande et de vêtements, avec une prière qui atteigne la (vraie) pureté, alors les puissants Fravashis des justes, contents, non offensés, non lésés, les comblent de bénédictions. Il y aura alors dans cette maison de (nombreux) troupeaux de bétail et (groupes) d'hommes, il y aura des chevaux rapides et des chars solides. Il sera stable dans sa sagesse l'homme qui nous offre constamment des sacrifices," etc. (x).¹⁴

Mr. Harlez is of opinion that this ancient belief of an undoubted Aryan origin was in later days not so much supplanted as enlarged by a new one of Assyro-Babylonian origin. The attributes of Fravashis were thereby applied either to persons still living, or about to be born, or to several celestial spirits and even to abstract beings or those supposed to be such. (x).¹⁵

We shall not follow the French scholar in this part of his learned

¹⁴ (x). Yeaht, xiii. secs. 49-52, (Harlez, Avesta p. 488).

¹⁵ (x). Introduction, p. cxxii.

researches. It will be quite sufficient for our purpose to have mentioned the fact that the most ancient notion entertained by Iranian populations as to the nature of Fravashis is the one of souls belonging to deceased ancestors.

Now, this is precisely the same creed, which the Ossetes entertain as to their ghosts. I will ask the reader to keep in mind the text of the Avesta whilst reading the following account of the ancestor worship of the Ossetes. If he does so, he will no doubt be puzzled by the extraordinary likeness existing between the Persian and the Caucasian creed.

To proceed with order, I will begin by stating that every time when an Osset family has sustained a loss in the person of one of its relatives, large expenses must be sustained on account of the funeral and commemoration feast; besides the yearly ones, there are special commemorations, made in favour of the recently dead parent. On each, sacrificial cakes are presented, some meal and brandy thrown into the hearth, the consumption of it by the fire being considered as a sign that the offerings have been accepted by the soul of the deceased. Some other practices are also followed to make more palpable the presence of the ghost among the guests called to honour him. Amongst others, one that may be described in the same words as those which the Frenchman Chinon uses in his account of the Guèbres. The family having made a wooden manikin of the deceased, dresses it in the same way in which he was known to dress on solemn occasions. The manikin is then placed on a seat near to the hearth, before which the whole family takes its meals. The part reserved for the soul thus honoured is swallowed as a rule by one of the next of kin,¹⁶ who in this way must eat and drink for two.

During the night preceding the new year, Ossetian widows prepare the bed of their dead husband, and expect his appearance sitting before a burning light. A misfortune happening to one of the members of the household is regularly attributed to the non-accomplishment of the duty of feeding ancestor souls which is incumbent upon all.

These ancestral spirits are considered to be revengeful, and to punish their careless relatives they thrust on them every sort of evil. But as long as due sacrifices are made in their honour, the ancestors remain the surest allies of the household, ready to fight every one of its foes, and to send happiness and luck to its members.

More than one legend is still current in which deceased persons

¹⁶ Chinon, *Relations du Levant*, p. 465.

are represented as helping the living generations against the secular opposers of the Ossetes, the Kabardian and the Tartars.

I will enter into no further details, and only recall to the memory of the reader the general conclusions to which we have come.

It has been shown that beginning by the Caspian shore, and finishing by the valley watered by the river Don, civilisations with undoubted features of Iranian culture have existed for centuries, that more than one tribe among the Highlanders of the Caucasus still maintain in their religious beliefs, their habits, and juridical customs, multifarious survivals of this ancient civilisation, that in this way an uninterrupted chain may be established between countries still occupied by people of Iranian blood and the southern steppes of the Russian Empire, where, during the earlier part of the middle ages, Iranian nomadic tribes are known to have passed over and over again, leaving no other traces but a few Iranian words deciphered in Greek inscriptions.

Does not this bring us to the conclusion that Iranian tribes probably belonging to the stock that migrated from Central Asia to the steppes of Southern Russia took their permanent abodes in different parts of the northern Caucasus, sending their ramifications to the mountainous villages? This conjecture might gain in credibility if archaeologists were to give it their support by the discoveries made in old tombs and burial places. As far as my own experience goes, I feel inclined to think that the results of excavations are very much in favour of the theory here expressed. Not only in the southern branches of the central chain have burial places like the Iranian "dakhme" been found (I speak of those existing in the land of the Chevsurs), but also on the northern side of the chain, some 10 miles away from the Elborouz, in a place called Chasaout, where, on two different occasions, mummified bodies of men and women in a sitting or lying position have been discovered, each time in groves cut out in the rock, at a considerable height, and possessing entrances large enough to give a free access, not only to the wind, but also to carnivorous birds.

Accustomed as they are to other modes of burial, the natives generally account for the existence of such groves by referring to a prevalent belief of pestiferous persons having been secluded in them and left to end their days. But the story everywhere told, as well in the land of the Chevsurs, as in the neighbourhood of the Elborouz, is no more to be relied on as soon as it is acknowledged that the old burial places of the Chevsurs are the old "dakhme" of the

"Zends," and their religious rites and moral precepts a direct reproduction of those contained in the Avesta.

We do not dare to guess at the time when the migrations of people like the Ossetes have taken place. But we feel inclined to think that they happened in very remote antiquity, probably before the time when the text of the Avesta had been written. The proof of it lies, according to my opinion, in the fact that the religious creed of these people, and especially their ancestor worship, is much older than the one mentioned in the Avesta, first of all because it contains no trace of any posterior influence of Assyro-Babylonian origin, and then on account of the great likeness it has with the worship of Indian Pitaras and Latin Manes, both descended from one common Aryan stock.

All that I have just said has no pretence to be an undoubted truth. The archæology of the Caucasus is only in its boyhood, rich in problems and suppositions, but not in established facts. What seems to be out of question is the existence among other elements of Caucasian culture of one, the presence of which cannot be explained otherwise than by reference to Iranian civilisation. This is the chief point we have tried to establish.

MAXIME KOVALEVSKY.

JUNIOR-RIGHT IN GENESIS.

IT is scarcely necessary in these pages to explain that the term junior-right implies a system of tenure in which a father's property descends to the youngest son. It thus forms the exact contrast to primogeniture, and to express this opposition the term "ultimogeniture" has been suggested (*Elton Origins*, 185), while in Germany the usual name is *Jüngsten-recht*. The special English expression is "borough-English," which is said to have been derived from a local use at Nottingham where there were two tenures of land in 1 Edw. III., "and the usages of these tenures were such that all the tenements whereof the ancestor died, seised in *burgh-*

Engloyes ought to descend to the youngest son and all the tenements in *burgh-Frauncoyes* to the eldest son as at the common law." Mr. Elton, from whom I take this quotation, devotes a learned chapter to this subject in his *Origins of English History* (Chap. viii. pp. 183-221). He has traced the custom in South-East England, Wales, France, where it is termed *Maineté*,¹ parts of Germany, Friesland, Hungary, and among the Tchuds, and Mongols, while Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, (pp. 431-2) refers to further examples in Scandinavia, New Zealand, Australia, and Zululand.

On the origin of this custom learned opinion is not yet decided. Mr. Elton connects it with another custom of a similar nature, by which the sacred hearth passes by preference to the youngest, but this only leaves an opening for an explanation which will concurrently explain both customs. Mr. Lang is inclined to see in it the natural preference for the son of the latest and *ex hypothesi* best-beloved wife in polygamous marriage; (Grimm-Hunt, *Introd.* p. lix). Unfortunately primogeniture is as often as not the rule among polygamous nations (Hindus, Chinese, Jews, Arabs), and the explanation would still leave unexplained why the youngest son of the youngest wife was the heir. I would venture to suggest that the custom would naturally arise during the latter stages of the pastoral period, when the elder sons would in the ordinary course of events have "set up for themselves" by the time of the father's death. The youngest son would under those circumstances naturally step into his father's shoes, and acquire the *patria potestas* and, with it, the right of sacrificing to the family gods by the paternal hearth.² Its occurrence now-a-days is chiefly among nomad tribes, and when found elsewhere it bears evident marks of a "survival." The English custom might have arisen in an analogous way during the time that the Teutonic invaders were successively founding "*tun*" after "*tun*" as the Paddings, the Kennings, or the Islings grew up and left the settlements of their father Padd, Kenn, or *Æsel*, to found new ones at Paddington, Kennington (where the custom is still to be traced, Blount-Hazlitt *Joc. Tenures*, 177), or Islington (where it also occurs, Elton p. 193).

As with other instances of ancient laws and customs which have died away into mere "survivals," junior-right has its item of interpre-

¹ Not *droit de juveigneurie* which is merely a "cadet appanage." Mr. Lang, who uses this term by preference, has overlooked Liebrecht's correction in the *Nachträge* to his *Zur Volkskunde* p. 514.

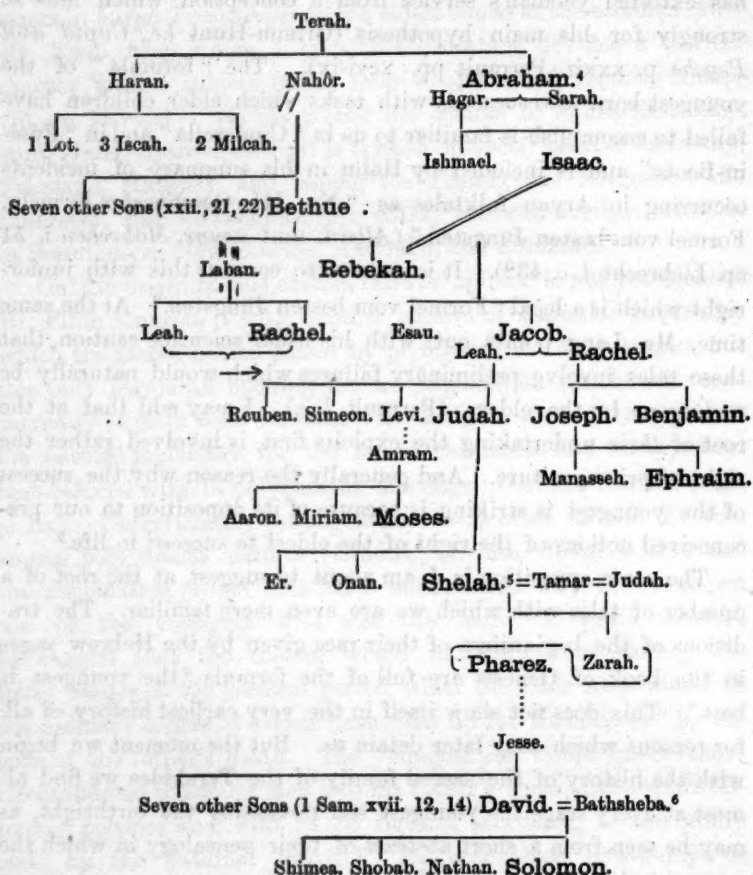
² I observe that this is also Mr. Gomme's explanation in *Archæologia*, vol. I. 214. Cf. too Robinson's *Gavelkind*: Appendix, quoted by Elton, 199.

tation to offer to the meaning of folk-tales. Mr. Lang in particular has extorted yeoman's service from a conception which tells so strongly for his main hypothesis (Grimm-Hunt *l.c.*, *Cupid and Psyche* p. xxxii, Perrault pp. xcvi-ix). The "formula" of the youngest born who succeeds with tasks which elder children have failed to accomplish is familiar to us in "Cinderella" and in "Puss-in-Boots," and is included by Hahn in his summary of incidents occurring in Aryan folktales as "No. III. Geschwister-formeln. Formel vom besten Jüngsten" (*Alban. und neugr. Märchen* i. 51 ap. Liebrecht *l.c.* 432). It is natural to connect this with junior-right which is a legal "Formel vom besten Jüngsten." At the same time, Mr. Lang points out, with his usual scientific caution, that these tales involve preliminary failures which would naturally be undergone by the elders; (Perrault *l.c.*). I may add that at the root of *their* undertaking the exploits first, is involved rather the right of primogeniture. And generally the reason why the success of the youngest is striking, is because of its opposition to our preconceived notions of the right of the eldest to succeed in life.³

The same opposition is, I am about to suggest, at the root of a number of tales with which we are even more familiar. The traditions of the beginnings of their race given by the Hebrew sages in the book of Genesis are full of the formula "the youngest is best." This does not show itself in the very earliest history of all, for reasons which may later detain us. But the moment we begin with the history of the sacred family of the Terahides we find almost at every stage the youngest son possessing the birthright, as may be seen from a short abstract of their genealogy in which the youngest children are printed in thick type:—

³ This prepossession seems scarcely justified by facts. Among the eminent "English Men of Science" whose nature and nurture were investigated by Mr. F. Galton, 26 out of 99 were eldest sons and 25 youngest, while 22 were both eldest and youngest, i.e. only sons, (p. 33). I may perhaps add here that from a very large induction I have made of the occurrence of successful youngest sons and daughters in folk-tales, I am rather inclined to doubt any connection with junior-right. No question of succession occurs in them as in the stories of Genesis.

GENEALOGY OF THE TERAHIDES.



According to this genealogical tree all three patriarchs were youngest sons. And the position of Jacob (Israel), the eponymous father of the race, is especially noteworthy. He is the youngest son of Isaac, who was the youngest son of Abraham, Terah's youngest son, and of Rebekah, who was the youngest daughter of Bethuel, who was the youngest son of Nahor.

The other names printed in thick type will come up for treat-

⁴ Abram must have been younger than Haran since he is everywhere regarded as a contemporary of his nephew Lot. The order "Abram, Nahor, Haran" occurs in the latest source of the Pentateuch. (Gen. xi. 27.)

⁵ Theoretically, I presume, on the Levirate principle Pharez and Zarah would count as sons of Shelah though begotten by Judah. Or would they have been regarded as carrying on the rights of Er?

⁶ Besides six other wives whom he married before at Hebron (1 Chr. iii. 1-3) and by each of whom he had offspring all older than Bathsheba's children.

ment in due order and, where necessary, with the evidence by which their "ultimogeniture" is established. But at present I would call attention to the general law which comes out so clearly in the above genealogical table. Almost every name of importance in early Hebrew history is that of a youngest son or daughter: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Rebekah, Rachel, Judah, Joseph, Benjamin, Ephraim, Moses—the whole sacred history of the early Hebrews is here. And these names are connected for the most part with a question of succession of the most vital importance for the whole religious future of the world, as the Hebrews thought, and as history shows they were justified in thinking. The birthright question forms the kernel of the whole patriarchal history and yet it invariably goes with the youngest son. Surely these traditions must have arisen in a state of society in which succession went by junior-right.

Yet by the time these traditions were written down, the impression in favour of the eldest son was firmly established.⁷ This is shown not alone by references in the genealogies of Genesis, (xxii. 21, xxv. 13, xxxv. 23, xvi. 8) but still more by the attitude taken up by the narrators towards cases where the first-born did not obtain the birthright. They felt bound to show that what was seemingly the rule in patriarchal times—the birthright of the youngest—was really the exception to the rule with which they were familiar—the birthright of the eldest. It was important to show this from the sacerdotal point of view, since the whole maintenance of the priests depended on the system of first-fruits. (Deut. xviii. 4.) This sacro-sanctity of the first-born comes out strongly in the principle laid down in the earliest legislation (Ex. xxxiv. 19.) "All that openeth the matrix is mine," i.e., belonged to the priests;⁸ this is extended in the next verse even to the children of men when it is said "All the first-born of thy sons thou shalt redeem."⁹ Thus while all later legislation went towards the sanctification of the first-born, the earliest traditions were in favour

⁷ Into the once vexed question whether Hebrew law sanctioned primogeniture in the modern sense we need not enter. The Deuteronomic legislation clearly gave the preferential share of a double portion to the eldest son. (Deut. xxi. 17.)

⁸ Wellhausen (*History*, p. 155) and Kuenen (*Hexateuch*, pp. 29, 30) argue elaborately that, in this legislative code, the priests had no more share than anyone who joined the sacrificial banquets. We would ask: what did they live upon then? At any rate the passage is sufficient to show the sanctity attaching to the first-born in the earliest written legislation.

⁹ This custom is kept up to the present day by orthodox Jews who pay a small sum as a "redemption of the [eldest] son."

of the youngest. It was thus of crucial importance to the sacerdotal scribes from whom we have received these traditions to reconcile them with the sanctity of the eldest on which all Jewish society and especially the whole system of the priesthood rested. It says something for their general trustworthiness that the traditions—though telling against them—have reached us unfalsified, and that the reconciling stories can be separated from the traditions to which they were applied. It is not suggested that all or any of these reconciling stories were invented for the purpose. Our hypothesis explains only why they were inserted in the sacred narrative. The need of reconciliation, it is contended, caused them to be selected from the mass of legends which no doubt existed about the early fathers of the race. In particular our hypothesis would explain the admission of many narratives in the sacred text which seem at present to be purposeless or worse until we place ourselves in the position of the narrators and appreciate the necessity they felt of explaining away the junior-right system so manifest in the earliest traditions. It is otherwise difficult to explain their existence in a book which from the first was intended to be a moral guide.

The expedient adopted for the purpose of reconciling tradition and law varies in different cases. With Ishmael and Isaac the inferiority of the handmaid to the mistress is the leading idea which serves to solve the difficulty. This should not obscure to us the fact that Ishmaelites are included as of natural right among the Abrahamides (xxv. 12-18),¹⁰ and that many touches of tradition show Ishmael of equal legitimacy with Isaac (xvii. 18, 20, 26; xxv. 9.) The touching prayer of Abraham, "O that Ishmael might live before thee," (xvii. 17), and the fact that Ishmael joins with Isaac in arranging the burial of their father (xxv. 9) is sufficient to establish this.

The next case of Jacob is especially interesting, because he is himself such a striking instance of a youngest son whose parents and grandparents are also youngest children. There are no less than two accounts to explain why, though the younger, he has the birthright. One of these, told with admirable skill, is probably founded in the last resort on a folk-etymology of the name "Jacob, the Supplanter"¹¹ or Deceiver," and tells how Jacob supplanted

¹⁰ Where quotation is merely by Roman and Arabic numerals, these refer to the corresponding chapter and verse of Genesis.

¹¹ It is possible that this name of the patriarch may be due to the Canaanites calling the Israelites, very appropriately, "sons of the supplanter"—according to Semitic idiom, supplanters. Our own "Whig" and "Tory" are sufficient to show that an opprobrious epithet may ultimately be adopted by the persons on

Esau by deceiving their father Isaac (ch. xxvii.). But there is another and probably later version (xxv. 29-34), in which Esau's privileges were disposed of to Jacob in a legitimate way by purchase, though under circumstances which fully confirm Jacob's reputation for cunning. The object of both narratives is clear—to explain why the birthright passed to the younger brother against the pre-possession of the narrator and of his audience in favour of the elder. The later custom and the earlier tradition had to be reconciled; both were sacro-sanct to the minds of the narrator and any explanation that reconciled them would commend itself as "what must have been."¹²

The sons of Jacob afford, strange to say, several instances of junior-right. Different traditions represented different sons as youngest. This fact clears up, to my mind, some of the most puzzling of the narratives in Genesis. When we are dealing with Jacob's sons, the realities underlying the narratives are the tribes in actual existence in Canaan. The "sons of Leah" and the "sons of Rachel" probably indicate early confederations of the tribes, while the "children of the handmaids" indicate some inferiority of the position of their respective tribes in the respective leagues. There is also some priority or superiority involved even in the two batches into which Leah's children are divided by the narrative of the mandrakes (xxx. 17-21.) Now of the first batch Judah is the youngest, and with Judah was to be the sceptre. Hence the need in later tradition to account for his elder brothers Reuben, Simeon and Levi being disinherited.¹³ Two of the most unedifying of the Biblical stories are told in order to explain this. Reuben had defiled his father's handmaid (xxxv. 22); Simeon and Levi had used treachery towards their sister's betrothed (ch. xxxiv.) I may add here that another Biblical narrative of the same complexion is probably connected with junior-right. The obstetric details about the birth of Pharez and Zarah (xxxviii. 27-30) evidently depend for their

whom it was first bestowed by opponents. It is certainly significant that there is no patronymic in Hebrew corresponding to Jacob as there are such derived from Israel and Judah ("Israelite, Jew.")

¹² Much of the Hagada or Talmudic legends about Biblical personages is due to the same kind of logic which is by no means yet extinct among us and is indeed perfectly justifiable if hypothesis be distinguished from fact.

¹³ The entry in 1 Chron. v. 1, shows how anomalous it seemed to later conceptions to find the birthright not with the eldest. "For he was the first-born, but inasmuch as he defiled his father's couch, his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph, the son of Israel; and the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birthright." (R.V. or "but he [Reuben] is not to be reckoned in the genealogy as first-born." Q.P.B.)

interest upon the fact that Pharez, from whom was descended David—himself a youngest son—was really the younger though he makes his appearance first. The still less edifying details about Onan earlier in the chapter, may also be possibly explained in a similar way.

With Rachel and her children the case is somewhat different, though Rachel herself may remind us that junior-right occurs, at anyrate in "Cinderella" and other folk-tales, among daughters as well as sons. It is therefore natural that Jacob should wait longer for the more important sister, the heiress Rachel; Laban's substitution of Leah (xxix. 23) would otherwise lose all point. It is Rachel too who takes away the Teraphim or ancestral gods of the hearth (xxxi. 19, 30)—a distinct point of connection with junior-right (cf. Elton, *l.c.* pp. 211-6 and especially p. 221). But as regards her sons there seem to be "survivals" of two traditions which would tend to give the birthright to each. Benjamin seems to be in every respect an afterthought among the tribal heroes. It is difficult to say what underlies the idea of his having been born in Canaan, after Joseph had gone down into Egypt. But it may be suspected that the importance thus given to Benjamin, who under the junior-right system would have the birthright, may be dated during the brief supremacy of the Benjamite Saul at the beginning of the eleventh century B.C.¹⁴ If so, this would be the only Hebrew tradition the origin of which can be definitely dated.

But it is round Joseph that Hebrew tradition clings most lovingly, Joseph the eponymous hero of the Kingdom of Israel *par excellence*. His very name indicates his importance, "he that adds," *Mehrer des Reichs*. It is therefore only natural that in the earliest traditions formed under a junior-right system, he is regarded as the youngest and therefore the rightful heir. And equally natural is the attempt to explain his position from the later standpoint of primogeniture by means of special interference of Providence in his dreams, &c. Yet the "coat of many colours" (really the "coat with long sleeves" suitable for the pampered heir who did no work) and the jealous envy of his brothers would be clearly, on our hypothesis, elements in the earliest traditions about him. It may also have been a touch of the earliest account which

¹⁴ That junior-right may have lasted on to this time is shown by the fact that David himself was the youngest son of Jesse, and Solomon seemingly David's. It is natural that an archaic mode of succession should linger on latest in the royal family. I may add that Moses was the youngest son of Amram.

represents, in one of the two versions of which our text is composed, the next heir, Judah, chivalrously desiring to save his rival. That is a touch worthy of the *Hamāsa* or the *Kitāb al-Aghani*. The other tradition which makes Reuben the would-be rescuer was probably formed later when primogeniture had become the ruling conception.

There is yet another narrative of Genesis which receives an explanation from the conception of a change of tenure from junior-right to primogeniture as the Israelites exchanged their roving life for one in which sons became more stay-at-home and the more experienced one would naturally fill his father's place. The narrative relates to Joseph's sons or the tribes they represent. Of the two Ephraim though smaller in territory was by far the more influential. Yet tradition once more represents the best son as the youngest. And once more later conceptions felt that this needed an explanation in a society where the eldest son had prior rights and the eldest generally was sacred to the Lord. The explanation is afforded in the quaint scene in which Jacob persists in blessing Ephraim with the right hand, the hand of might and power, though he had to cross his hands in order to do so, and though Joseph calls attention to the seeming mistake (xlvi. 13-19).

Thus we have seen that many of the out-of-the-way incidents in the lives of the patriarchs, and almost all those that have especially shocked the theologians, receive an explanation on the hypothesis that junior-right was once the rule of succession in early Hebrew society, and that these tales are introduced to explain the superiority of the youngest in tradition when that of the eldest had been established in law. Indeed if the truth of an hypothesis can be measured by the number of facts it can explain, our hypothesis would compare favourably with any of the multitudinous suggestions that have issued from German seats of learning during the past half-century. A well merited suspicion attaches to explanations which seem to explain too much.¹⁵ I hasten to disarm this in the present case by pointing out that our hypothesis does not apply to any of the earlier narratives of Genesis. The reason for this is tolerably obvious. A nation has legends about its eponymous heroes long before it deals with cosmological problems. This is

¹⁵ It may not be discreet, but it is certainly fair, that I should point out the weightier objections. The cases where junior-right does not occur in the genealogies of Genesis deserve attention, and it would be desirable to have some confirmatory evidence of the existence of junior-right among other Semites. I may revert to some of these points on another occasion. The larger question of the so-called authenticity of the narratives of Genesis I assume to be settled in the sense given to it by all scholars whose views deserve attention in the present state of Biblical science.

only one of many indications which serve to show that the Hebrews had traditions about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob long before they speculated about the origin of the world, (i.) of man, (ii.) of sin, (iii.) of death, (iv. 1-15) of the arts (iv. 20-22.) and of the diversity of language (xi. 1-10.) The absence of any reference to junior-right in these legends would seem to indicate that they arose after the nomad stage and in Canaan probably under Assyrian influences.

I was at one time in hopes that this theory—now propounded for the first time—would serve as a crucial test to distinguish between the rival hypotheses which now divide the world of Biblical criticism as to the composition of the Pentateuch or "Hexateuch" as it is the fashion to say. Of some fourteen passages relating to the subject Dillmann and Wellhausen agree as to the attribution of all but two (xxii, 25, xlv., partly cf. Dillmann *ad locos*): they differ only as to the relative ages of the sources. Our theory, if substantiated, scarcely enables us to decide between them. The two divergent stories how Jacob got the birthright seem to come from the same source, so that the divergencies of tradition existed prior to any literary fixation. But even had it not been so, it would not necessarily follow that the source that contained the earlier tradition was written down earlier. Mr. Fenton in the preface to his admirable little work *Early Hebrew Life*—the most suggestive contribution to Hebrew Archæology made of recent years in England—has pointed out analogous cases in India where later codes contain earlier customs. The fact is, literary criticism *per se* tells us but little as to origins: hence the unprolific character of recent Biblical work. If a tithe of the industry and acumen that have been expended on the discrimination of the parts of the Pentateuch respectively due to the Jahvist and the Elohist, had been devoted to the *Realien* of the Old Testament, Biblical Archæology would not be in its present chaotic condition. It is on the application of the methods by which Dr. Tylor and his school have done so much to elucidate origins that the future of Biblical Archæology depends.¹⁶

It may help to reassure some of my readers if I go on to say that in my opinion Biblical Archæology has very little bearing on Biblical Theology. Whether junior-right prevailed in early Israel or not, does not affect one jot the ethical genius of the greater prophets and their significance in the world's history. The idylls of the patriarchs will always have their charm whatever be the

¹⁶ By a somewhat similar method I believe I have helped to solve another intricate Biblical problem—that of the *Nethinim* (*Babyl. and Orient. Record*, Feb., March, 1888).

discoveries we may make as to the ideas underlying them. If to some persons it may seem jarring to find "Cinderella" or "Puss in Boots" adding their quota of elucidation to the Book of Books, I would remind them that the most elaborate of recent works on *The Origins of English History* seeks instruction from similar folk-tales. It is at any rate appropriate that in the pages of the *Archæological Review* recourse should be had to those *aniles fabellæ*, the elucidation of which has cast as much light on the study of origins as any other department of Archæology.

As I have somewhat wandered into general topics in the last few paragraphs, I may perhaps be allowed to summarise the special inquiry in which we have been engaged in the form of a number of Theses which I seek to establish or connect together.

(1) It is assumed that the Hebrews, like other nations in the pastoral stage, had a system of succession corresponding to "Borough English" by which the youngest son succeeded to his father's flocks and property, the elder ones having probably provided for themselves before their father's decease.

(2) It is known that under the Israelite theocracy the eldest son had preferential rights which were supported by the priesthood who depended for their maintenance on the sanctity of the first-born.

(3) It is known that the patriarchs and tribal heroes were represented by tradition as youngest sons, certainly in the cases of Isaac, Jacob, Benjamin, Ephraim, probably in those of Abraham, Judah, Joseph. It is more likely that such traditions arose under (1) than (2).

(4) It is assumed that in order to reconcile (2) and (3) the priestly writers of the Pentateuch adopted the following narratives.

- (a) The illegitimacy of Ishmael.
- (b) The winning of the birthright by Jacob (two versions).
- (c) The disgrace of Reuben.
- (d) The offence of Simeon and Levi.
- (e) The death of Onan.
- (f) The prenatal struggle of Pharez and Zarah.
- (g) Jacob blessing Ephraim.

I shall be curious to see what kind of anti-Theses or rival hypotheses can be supplied to explain in an equally natural manner the same series of seemingly unnatural occurrences.

I may add that our hypothesis, if substantiated, would enable us to distinguish between earlier and later elements in the stories relat-

ing to Ishmael, Jacob, Rachel, and Joseph. It would likewise fix a *terminus a quo* for the rise of the legends relating to Benjamin in the eleventh century B.C. It would establish the important principle of Biblical criticism that traditions in the hands of the priests were not falsified but only others added in order to make them chime in with current conceptions. Finally, it would confirm earlier opinions as to the great age of the main body of the patriarchal legends since it tends to show that they arose in the nomad or pre-Canaanite period when succession went by junior-right.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

No. 3. FIJIAN LAWS OF DESCENT.

THE foundation of power and authority among the Fijians rests in the highest living male ascendant of the tribe, or in other words in the head of the family. The administration of their laws, the almost entire absence of individual rights, and the connection of their proprietary rights and personal relations are in many points analogous to the ancient village communities of India. The kinship of the Fijians is strictly agnatic, and not cognatic.

Their laws of succession and marriage are based upon this ancient system, and their ideas as to social rights and wrongs, proprieties and improprieties, are probably the causes of the system itself. By this system the patriarchal chief, head, or father of the family or tribe, was and even now in many parts of Fiji is answerable for the delicts of his sons. An offence committed by an individual of his tribe against a member of another tribe was as a rule resented upon, or condoned by, the whole family of the offender. Frequently a whole family was decimated or destroyed for one man's offence, for it is a rule of this archaic law not to recognise individuals. The Chief of the tribe is also charged in a great degree with a liability to provide for all the members of his family, who, in fact, form one common brotherhood. Out of this liability or duty has, I conceive, arisen the right and power of "lala," or service tenure.

The rule of succession is also based upon the principles of Agnatic law: when a Fijian dies the brother of the deceased and not the *son* succeeds. The brother, as next in order to the common root, becomes the head and ruler of the family, administers the common property, and assumes the family rights and responsibilities. Should

this brother die, the next, if there be one, succeeds, and so on until there are no more. The succession then reverts to eldest son of the eldest deceased brother, to whom the sons of all the other brothers are subordinate; while a chief inherits or is chosen from among his kinsfolk in this order of succession, he *may* be passed over because of mental or bodily defect, or notoriously foolish conduct, &c.

This order of succession has existed from time immemorial, and any forced departure from it would break up the present family arrangements. The worst feature about it is that it may lead to the deaths of younger brothers and nephews. In the two great Mahommedan families, where "the uncle succeeds to the throne in preference to the nephew, even though the nephew be son of the elder brother," younger brothers generally come to an untimely end. Among the old Celtic clans a law something like this prevailed, for the uncle was preferred to the grandson as ruler.

With regard to abduction, it must be remembered that by their peculiar system every Fiji woman is of right the wife of some particular Fiji man; also, that every woman is by law "tabu'd," or forbidden to some particular man or men. The children of brothers, *i.e.*, brothers by the same father and mother, never intermarry; they are held to be of the same stock, of the one family and blood; the right to property or the fact of property as between "veitanao" being held in common must not be overlooked. If the introduction of British law creates "the individual" who is hardly known to Fijian law, that which is now a lawful custom will become felony. These children when of opposite sexes hardly ever speak to one another. The words uncle and nephew are unknown; the former are all "fathers," and the latter are all "sons."

The children of *brothers and sisters* may intermarry; they are "viewatini," that is people who may lawfully cohabit together. There is no word in the language signifying wife.

Now, if a woman is enticed away, or carried off by a man of a family, other than that to which she by positive right belongs, not only is her father and all his family outraged and insulted, but so also is the man and all the family into which she should have intermarried. The offence must be instantly condoned according to tribal usage, or a conflict between the two families may break out at any moment.

A woman may be carried off by a man belonging to her intended husband's family, and this wrong also creates a great disturbance, sometimes as great as the first mentioned one.—J. B. Thurston, *Correspondence relating to Fiji* (c.—1624), 1876, pp. 38-40.

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A GRIMM'S TALE IN A SHETLAND FOLKLORE VERSION.

FROM the lips of the people the brothers Grimm gathered those "Children's and Household Tales" which now form one of the most charming treasures of Germany's primitive popular fiction. Their preservation, through so long a lapse of time, seems to-day little less than a wonder. "The seats near the fire-place and the kitchen hearth; steps leading to the loft; holidays still kept; pasture commons and forests with their quietness; before all, untroubled fancy: these were the hedges that saved these tales and secured their being handed down from one age to the other." So it is said in the preface to the edition of 1819. And with great truth the Grimms add:—"What a far more complete and intrinsically richer collection would have been possible in Germany in the fifteenth century, or even yet in the sixteenth at the time of Hans Sachs and Fischart!"

In the third, augmented edition the various translations are mentioned. Here, the remark is made that, among them, the English one merits the preference, both as the fullest, and because a tongue so akin to that of the original is the most fit for rendering it. The scientific value of these popular traditions is also dwelt upon—"a value which has been proved by many a surprising trait of kinship with old divine sagas, so that German Mythology has not seldom had occasion to refer to them, and to find in their consonance with those myths an evidence of an original close connection."

How now if it were found that remnants of these very same tale-treasures are still hidden in out-of-the-way corners of this country?

From three Shetland friends there have come to me, for years past, many important stray waifs of folklore. Some of these communications have shed a sudden light upon various hitherto but dimly discernible points in the ancient creed of the Teutonic race. Originally of Norse stock, and, down to a comparatively recent

time, of Norse speech, the Shetland people have in a remarkable degree preserved their taste for the "old tales." Upwards of four hundred years ago—as they are fond of reminding the willing hearer—their country was given in *wadsett*, or redeemable pledge, by the King of united Denmark, Norway and Sweden to the Scottish Crown; and in this way, in course of time, their island group, as well as the Orkneys, passed into the hands of England. As Northmen, distinct both from the Scots and the English, they still feel in their eagle's nest.

To get at the half-sunken Nibelung hoard of runic rimes, spell-songs, and gruesome water-tales which yet glow in the fancy of the folk of that Northern Thule, is, generally speaking, by no means an easy task. There is a feeling of secretiveness, a notion that "these things must not be published." In some cases, where old cronies are concerned, who still do a stroke of business with spell-songs and wortcraft, there is a strong dislike to publication, as it is held to be hurtful to their interest. Others, even if more enlightened—say, sea-faring men who have got rid of the superstitions of their class—do not want the strange stories to go out to the world, and to have them "brought up against themselves" by other sailors in the way of taunting ridicule. If only these people could be made to see the true kinship of the old tales, and their corresponding poetic value! Are the German people ashamed of the *Märchen* still told in many a thorpe and hamlet, and which such lights of learning as the brothers Grimm most carefully put together? Why, looked at in the proper way, Shetland would only get further renown by the fullest storing up of all the jetsam and flotsam that can still be recovered from popular tradition.

I was therefore glad when, last summer, an old Shetland friend who had given me from personal recollection many a valuable Water-Tale current in his youth, wrote to me that he well remembered a version of a Grimm's Tale, as once told among the people of his neighbourhood. A translation of the German book he had only latterly seen for the first time. Immediately, the early remembrance came up in his mind. It is Mr. Robert Sinclair, formerly of Lerwick, now living at Melbourne, in Australia, to whom I owe the text of this Shetland story. The tale itself is the one marked "No. 30" in the German work of the brothers Grimm.

On turning to one of the English translations of Grimm, I found "No. 30" given under the somewhat altered title: "The Spider and the Flea." In another, recently published, it is called in still more refined language: "The Lady-bird

and the Fly." Unfortunately, the last translator, a lady, seems to be strangely in error as to the origin of some of these tales; for she says:—"They contain a complete translation from the German of the Household Stories, or Fairy Tales, collected by the brothers Grimm from various sources, and of many of which they were the authors." Now, the importance of those Tales consists in their having been all taken down from popular tradition. The Grimms were not the authors of any of them.

However, the title: "The Lady-bird and the Fly" may not be objected to, as Mrs. Paull's translation is declared to be "specially adapted and arranged for young people," and ideas are somewhat strict, in this country, as to the mere mention of certain insects. On their part, the brothers Grimm almost invariably took and gave things as they had found them. They did not feel entitled to an over-finikin suppression of naturalistic detail. Hence they straightway spoke of the story in question as that of "*Läuschen und Flöhchen*."

Still, let it be "The Lady-bird and the Fly," and the tale will thereby not become less enjoyable. Without further ado, I now place here the Shetland text. If the reader will compare it with the German tale, he will first observe that the *dramatis personæ* are, in the Shetland version, somewhat different from those in the German story. Again, whilst the latter begins in prose, and then breaks off, now and then, into verse, the Shetland tale begins with a verse showing both the staff-rime and the end-rime.

DA FLECH AN' DA LOOSE SHACKIN' DIR SHEETS.

DA Flech an' da Loose lived tagedder in a hoose;
 An' as dey shook dir¹ sheets,
 Da Flech shü snapped, an' fell i' da fire,
 An' noo da Loose she greets.²

Da Crook⁴ he saw da Loose greetin', an' says he ta⁵ da Loose:—"Loose! Loose! why is du⁶ greetin'?"

"Oh! da Flech an' I wer' shackin' wir⁷ sheets.
 Da Flech shü snapped an' fell i' da fire.
 Noo what can I du bit⁸ greet?"

"Oh! dan I'll wig-wag back an' fore⁹!" says da Crook.

Sae da Crook wig-waggit, an' da Loose she grett.

Da Shair saw da Crook wig-waggin'; an' says he ta da Crook:—"Crook! Crook! why is du wig-waggin'?"

"Oh! da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets;
 Da Flech shü fell i' da fire an' brunt.¹⁰
 An' noo da Loose she greets, an' I wig-wag."

¹ Their. ² she stumbled. ³ weeps. ⁴ pot-hook. ⁵ to.

⁶ Art thou. ⁷ our, ⁸ do but. ⁹ sway back and forwards.

¹⁰ Was burnt.

"Oh! dan," says da Shair,¹¹

"I'll jimp o'er da flör."¹²

Sae da Shair she jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett.

Da Door he saw da Shair jimpin'; an' says he ta da Shair:—"Shair! Shair! why is du jimpin' o'er da flör?"

"Oh! da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets;

Da Flech fell i' da fire, an' da Loose she greets.

Da Crook wig-wags, an' so I jimp."

"Oh! dan I'll jangle upo' my harrs."¹³

Sae da Door jingle-jangled; da Shair he jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett.

Da Midden¹⁴ he saw da Door jinglin'; an' says he ta da Door:—"Door! Door! why is du jingle-jangling upo' dy harrs?"

"Oh da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets,

Da Flech fell i' da fire, an' da Loose she greets;

Da Crook wig-wags; da Shair he jimps;

An' I jingle-jangle upo my harrs."

"Oh! dan," says da Midden, "I'll scrieg o'er wi' maeds."¹⁵

Sae da Midden he scriegit; da Door jingle-jangled; da Shair he jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett.

Da Burn¹⁶ he saw da Midden scriegin', an' says he ta da Midden:—"Midden! Midden! why is du scriegin' o'er wi' maeds?"

"Oh! da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets,

Da Flech fell i' da fire, an' da Loose she greets;

Da Crook wig-wags; da Shair he jimps;

Da Door jingle-jangles; an' sae I scrieg o'er wi' maeds."

"Oh! dan I'll rin wimple-wample."¹⁷

Sae da Burn ran wimple-wample; da Midden he scriegit; da Door he jingled; da Shair he jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett.

Da Loch saw da Burn rinnin' wimple-wample, an' says he ta da Burn:—"Burn! Burn! why is du rinnin' wimple-wample?"

"Oh! da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets,

Da Flech fell i' da fire, an' da Loose she greets.

Da Crook wig-wags; da Shair he jimps;

Da Door jingle-jangles; da Midden shrieks o'er wi' meads—

An' sae I rin wimple-wample."

"Oh! dan I'll swall o'er my brim."

Sae da Loch he walled an' he swalled;¹⁸ da Burn ran wimple-wample; da Midden he scriegit; da Door he jingled; da Shair he jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett—when doon comes da Flöd¹⁹, an' sweeps awa' da Hoose an' da Loose, da Crook an' da Shair, da Door an' da Midden wi' da maeds, a' doon i' da müddow whare²⁰ da Burn ran wimple-wample. An' sae ends da storie o' da Flech an' da Loose.

Thus, in the water everything perishes, even as from the water, according to many an ancient creation doctrine, everything has arisen. "Everything flows," said the old Greek philosopher.

¹¹ chair. ¹² flör. ¹³ upon my hinges. (*Hjarr*, in Norse.)

¹⁴ Dunghill. ¹⁵ swarm over with maggots. ¹⁶ Bourn.

¹⁷ I will run meandering, going this way and that way. Comp. *Wimble*, Old English and dialect word = rapid, fleet. To wample = to rise up.

¹⁸ Welled and swelled. (Comp. German: *überschwellen*.) ¹⁹ down comes the flood.

²⁰ All down into the meadow where—

In the German tale, Lousikin and Fleakin are, so to say, man and wife. They lived together in the same household; and when brewing beer in an egg-shell, Lousikin fell into it and "burnt itself." It is not said that it was burnt dead. At the end, Lousikin even reappears, but only in order to be swept away by the flood, like everything else.

In the Shetland tale, Loose (or Lús) and Flech are both of the female sex, whilst even the lifeless things are treated as of the masculine gender. It is not Loose, but Flech that comes to grief. The latter falls, not into an egg-shell, but into the fire itself, and does not appear any more. It is burnt for good.

In the German tale, it is the Door, the Besom, the Waggon, the Dunghill, the Tree, the Maiden with the Water-jug, and the Fountain from which the water flows, that follow each other in succession. These are seven things or beings: a holy number. They are all, like the hero and the heroine, spoken of in the fondling diminutive. In the Shetland tale, the acting forms and figures are the Crook (pot-hook), the Chair, the Door, the Midden with the Maggots, the Bourne, the Loch, and the Flood. Again the same holy number.

In both tales, the story is gradually developed from the house away into open Nature. But in the Shetland story the Maiden is wanting. No human being enters there into the general grief. It is as if in the German story there were a marked feeling of the universal kinship of all things, animate and even inanimate. This is a trait often met with in Teutonic folklore.

Finally, in the Shetland story, as in the German one, Water is the great equalising power in which everything is carried away. So we have here, perhaps, one of those Water-tales in which the Teutonic stock is especially rich.

A few words more as to some details. The "Crook" is the pot-hook which is linked on a chain, and hung over the fire in the middle of the house. The same contrivance could formerly, and can no doubt still now, be seen in many a German peasant house, even as in Shetland.

From the Crook to the Chair, from the Chair to the Door, from the Door to the Midden, from the Midden to the Burn, from the Burn to the Loch, and then to the Flood, is certainly, in the Shetland tale, quite a regular line of connection, bringing matters, from the inside of the house, gradually into the open to the final catastrophe.

There are, in the Shetland story, several words of close relation with German, either as it is written, or as it is spoken in dialects.

When the Flech "snappers," that reminds us of the Franconian dialect word: *umschnappen*, in the sense of: to stumble. When the Crook "wig-wags," we may easily think of the German dialect word: *wickelwackeln*. So also, the maeds (maggots) are the German *Maden*. In pronunciation, the Shetlanders lack the English "th." "The," with them, is *da*—as in German: *der, die, das*. "Thou," with them, is *du*—as in German. "Then" is *dan*—as in German: *dann*.

Harrs has been explained already in a foot-note as a Norse word. The same holds good for *scrieg* (to swarm, to run over, to jump)—another local form of which, a Shetland friend tells me, is *scried*, and which corresponds to the Old Norse: *skrida*. "To scrieg" is of the same root as the German *Heu-schrecke* (grasshopper or hay-swarmer, as it were); *schrecken* being an old, and still a dialect, word for: "to jump," or "to make jump." (See Luther's translation of "Job," xxxix. 20. The English translation, which has the words, "make the horse afraid as a grasshopper," instead of "make the horse jump as a grasshopper," is an erroneous one.) The *Heu-schrecke* is, therefore, also called *Heu-springer*, or *Sprengling*.

A truly Teutonic humour is contained in the description of how Loose and Flech are "shaking *their* sheets." The dirtiest of the Shetland peasantry may at one time, so I am told, have tried to rid themselves of vermin by shaking the bed sheets over glowing embers. A cleaner generation then humorously put the recollection of this habit into a story of these very insects, making *them* eager for the decencies of life in the same unsophisticated manner.

Now, how did this tale wander to the far North? Was it brought there by German seamen? The relations of the Hanse towns with Shetland are of ancient date. In the new Town Hall at Lerwick, the recollection of this old intercourse is visible in a stained glass window sent as a present, some five or six years ago, by the town of Hamburg. On this subject a Shetland friend writes:—

"The painted window bears a Latin inscription setting forth that it is given in memory of friendly offices afforded in the past to seamen and fishermen of that city's marine. Above are the arms of Hamburg, and all around is an emblematic border of nets, fish, seaweed, shells, and so forth, while a copy of an old engraving of Hamburg in the last century occupies a central place in the window. About the same time the city of Amsterdam gave a similar one, which is placed in the same room. The inscription is almost

identical with that of the Hamburg window. Up to the early part of this century, the chief trade was with Hamburg. I have seen fire-places in old houses here fitted with Dutch or German blue and white tiles which had been brought direct hither. When I was a boy, many old people here spoke Low Dutch fluently, and it is only forty years ago since foreign coins passed current here in the shops along with English money. I can recollect, as of yesterday, being asked in the street: "*Quaet jy oude Jan Hooford oop die kleine Straate?*" ("Do you know old John Gifford in the narrow lane?") I don't know the correct spelling, but that is about the sound. And the skippers of the busses¹ were known familiarly all over the town by name, coming as they did every year to Lerwick.

Considering this old and long intercourse, one may naturally be inclined to think that the Shetland version of the tale here given is based on a German one, being brought over by Hanseatic skippers. Or are we to look upon the northern story as the remnant of a common inheritance from a still older Germanic past? Be that as it may, at all events every one who prizes folklore traditions must feel a strange thrill when suddenly finding a piece from the jewel-casket of Grimm's Tales, in a somewhat changed setting, lying on the shore of the Northern Thule.

KARL BLIND.

¹ Herring boats.

MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS.

IN the study of rude stone monuments of a prehistoric age, it seems to me that archæologists have arrived at a period when they should make up their minds to depend upon individual scientific research for a solution of the problems to which these monuments have given rise, and no longer to pin their faith to authors whose knowledge is superficial, and whose theories are based upon no solid and sure foundation. Error propagates error, and the conjectures and erroneous conclusions of writers who have no doubt deservedly been credited with great scientific wisdom in other branches of antiquarian pursuits, have contributed much to retard the progress of this particular study. It is very discouraging and most mortifying to contemplate what a trifling progress has been made in regard to the science of prehistoric monuments since the 17th century, when attention was directly called to them.

One thing is quite certain that the requisite knowledge is not to be

acquired in a day ; it is the result of a long, close and patient study ; it must be the devotion of a life. If a comparative anatomist is to be regarded as a trustworthy guide and teacher, he must not be satisfied with merely gazing at skeletons through the glass frames of museum cabinets. If a botanist or numismatist would take his place as an experienced and erudite leader in his own special field of labour, he must be much more than a mere collector of specimens and coins. And so it must be as regards the expositor of megalithic monuments. The reason why so little knowledge prevails among Archaeologists in the British Isles and on the Continent is not far to seek. Writers upon the subject of megaliths commonly display the most profound ignorance of the monuments ; and if they have the skill to wield the pen of ready writers, and embellish their productions with numerous woodcuts, which are only copies of sketches found in the works of other scribblers, and which they imagine will illustrate and support their conjectures, they are esteemed sound teachers, and are quoted as infallible authorities. No work of recent days has been productive of greater injury to the cause than the plausible theories and fallacious arguments contained in a volume on "Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries, their age and uses." This book is frequently appealed to and quoted by home and foreign authors as if it were a rich and valuable store-house of facts ; whereas it is nothing of the kind, and every copy should be committed to the flames. The truth has been so greatly obscured and distorted, that it is not easy, indeed it is impossible, for students, who have a desire to learn and have not the leisure or opportunity to test the accuracy of plans and descriptions, to avoid being misled. This is a certainty, to which we are led, by noticing the fatal mistakes which are constantly made by youthful inquirers, and even by reputable antiquaries. The late Mr. Worsaae and others have not been free from this imputation. Had these writers been better informed, we should never have heard of Druids' altars ; Free-standing and earthfast dolmens ; Tripod dolmens ; Demi dolmens ; Dolmens erected upon the summit of artificial mounds ; Phallic monoliths ; sacred circles ; Hut circles in the Jordan valley likened to Stonehenge ; receptacles or basins on the covering stones of dolmens for receiving the blood of human and other victims ; all which appellations indicate a deficiency of knowledge which is perfectly amazing, and a blind acceptance of the statements of authors whom I have the temerity to censure. One of these undiscerning gentlemen, when describing the monuments of Moab, laments his inability at the moment "to consult Mr. J. Fergusson's *beautiful book* on Rude stone monuments, having left the book in England," and hopes to be able "to correct and supplement his Report at a future period, after reference to this *great architectural authority*." (The italics are mine.) This passage fully justifies the remark made above that megalithic science would have a chance of progressing in the right direction, if a clean sweep could be made of every existing copy of this most mischievous book and destroyed.

I have had to endure many mournful reflections since Mr. Fergusson's book was published, not only on account of its argument which is ingenious, and its inaccurate and exaggerated representations of many of the monuments in the numerous woodcuts it contains, but because I foresaw that the reputation of its author would give it a fictitious value in the

estimation of ill-informed students. And this has come to pass. The consequence has been that many books and pamphlets have been printed relating to megalithic monuments which are filled with fanciful theories more or less in accordance with the views of Mr. Fergusson respecting their true construction, and the uses for which these structures were originally erected.

Where then, it may be asked, is a student to look for sound teaching when he is warned that he is surrounded by so much error? This question may be solved in the following way. Let him use his own eyes, and resolve not to consult *beautiful* books. Let him closely observe and compare the monuments, measure them and plot them to scale. Let him be in no hurry to draw conclusions, and give no opinion, until he has accumulated hundreds of ground plans, sections and elevations. Should he be unable to do this, then let him turn his attention to some other subject.

The above has been written not for the purpose of discouraging inquirers, but to make them cautious, and for the purpose of pointing out the only true method by means of which sound views upon this subject may be acquired. While other branches of archæological science have progressed with fairly rapid strides, it is a fact which cannot be gainsaid that the knowledge of rude stone monuments has been nearly at a stand-still for two centuries. The truth is not to be arrived at by argument, but by careful and patient observation, experience, and common sense.

W. C. LUKIS.

EXHIBITION OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

AS this exhibition will continue open at the Egyptian Hall until July 14, it will be well to indicate to antiquaries what classes of objects are comprised in the collection.

The most striking feature is a series of about thirty portraits of Egyptians, Levantines, and Romans, dating from the second and third centuries A.D. These are painted in coloured wax on very thin cedar panels, appearing much like oil paintings. Their art is excellent, ranking with the best class of Pompeian paintings; and in many cases they are in fine condition. Some of the most brilliant were kept at the Bulak Museum. These portraits were all discovered on the faces of mummies by Mr. Flinders Petrie in his excavations in the great cemetery of the Fayum province at Hawara; and there are several examples of the mummies, shewing the manner in which the portraits were bandaged on. Some of these are also brilliantly decorated. The earlier stage of gilt and painted cartonnage coverings is well represented; some of the gilt heads being remarkably well modelled. Of the embroideries found with the mummies there are many examples. There is also a large number of wreaths and bunches of dried flowers, which were laid on the mummies, both in the coffins of

Ptolemaic age, and in the open earth burials of Roman times. Five wooden sarcophagi stand in the middle of the room, some with the mummies still in them. On the tables are several Greek funereal inscriptions; various toys found in graves—dolls, toilet boxes, glass flaskets, a toy-mirror, beads, &c.; several glass vessels, including one upright tall glass covered with wheel-cut patterns; parts of a casket with carved ivory panels; various tools—mallet, drills, combs, knives, saucers of paint, &c.; wooden tickets with Greek inscriptions, which were attached to the mummies; a magnificent flint knife, and various lesser ones, probably made about 1400 B.C.; some carved wood amulets, &c.; several kinds of late Roman *minimi*, with the jars belonging to them; a leaden cinerary urn; a quantity of pottery some with owners' names incised, *Isak*, *Iakeb*, &c.; many examples of leather shoes, gilt and decorated, papyrus sandals, and one pair of cork soles; while of papyri there are several samples from the large collection made during the excavations, including the papyrus containing part of the second book of the *Iliad*, and the earliest known example of printing by an inked stamp.

On one side stand the fragments of the great colossi mentioned by Herodotus, which were unearthed at Biahmu last January. Besides the above (which have been all discovered by Mr. Petrie this year in the private work which he has carried out with the assistance of some friends), there is a collection of other antiquities purchased in Egypt; mostly glazed amulets and ushabtis, and a series of scarabs with royal and private names.

INDEX NOTES.

10. ROMAN REMAINS IN LONDON. i. North Side of the Thames.

(Continued from ante p. 278).

LOMBARD STREET, animal bones, coins, &c., depth 15 to 22 feet. Evidences of a densely populated district, Fibula,¹⁷ bronze dish with handles, tessellated pavement, depth 12 feet, near Sherbourne Lane, breadth East to West 20 feet, found in 1785, observed again in 1840, when coins of the early Emperors, Amphoræ, flue tiles and other pottery were discovered; cartloads of pottery removed to mend the roads at St. George's Fields. *Arch.*, viii.; *Hughson's London*, i., 34; *Gent. Mag.*, 1807, i., 415-417; *Guild Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxiv., 186; *Maitland Hist. Lond.* (Entick. 1145).

LONDON STONE, Camden *Brit.* ed. 1607, 304; *Gale. Iter. Brit.*, 89; *Arch.*, xxxiii., 115; *Wren's Parentalia*, 265, 266; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, i. 293-295; *Stow*, 84; *Liber De Antiquis Legibus*, 636; *Hardyng's Chronicles*, 41; *Tess. Past.*, 55, 66.

LONDON WALL, aqueduct, (subterranean), depth 19 feet, arch composed of fifty tiles, coins, drinking cups and other pottery, rings, &c., Samian ware, &c. *Arch.*, xxix., 152; *Gent. Mag.*, 1836, i., 135-137; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxiii., 91; *Stow*, 3-5; *Smith's Topog. London*, 1815; *Woodward's Letter to Sir C. Wren*, 12-14.

¹⁷ This particular find of Brooches was so large that the quantity on one spot led to the conjecture that the site had been occupied by a Jeweller in ancient times.

- LOTHBURY, coins, lamps, pottery, sandals and shoes, reticulated and plain tessellated pavements, depth 12 feet. *Arch.*, xxviii., 142-152; *Brit. Mus.*, *Rom. Lond.*, 56; *Mus. Pract. Geol.*; *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, ii., 532-533.
- LOVE LANE, Samian pottery, undescribed. *Mus. Pract. Geol.*
- LUDGATE HILL, sepulchral monument with inscription, altar with inscription, sculpture, &c. *Arch.*, xli., 46; *Gent. Mag.*, 1806, ii., 792; *Coll. Antiq.*, i., 131; *Malcolm Lond. Rediv.*, iv. 381; *Hübner*, vii. 23; *Guild Mus.*; *Camden*, i., 92; *Coll. Antiq.*, i., 127; *Horsley*, 331; *Rom. Lond.*, 22; *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*.
- MAIDEN LANE (Battle Bridge), sepulchral stone inscribed in memory of a soldier of the twentieth legion. *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*; *Rom. Lond.*; *Gent. Mag.*, 1842, ii., 144-145; *Hübner*, vii., 22; *Hone's Every-Day Book*, ii., 1566.
- MANSSELL STREET (Whitechapel), small leaden coffin (ornamented with beaded pattern) containing the remains of a child, near it cinerary urns, skeletons, beads and bracelets, in bronze and jet. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 1st ser., 349-57; *Proc. E. M. L. & Midd. A. Soc.* 1860 p. 81.
- MANSION HOUSE (sewage excavations), Bronzes, figure of Mars, draughtsmen, fibulae, keys, Samian and other pottery. *Guild Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxv., 392.
- MARK LANE, Axe, with cinerary urns and pottery. Granary for corn found in 1675, depth 28 feet. *Leland Col.*, i., 71; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxiv., 288; *Baily Mss.*
- MILK STREET (Cheapside), beads, bronze mask, pottery. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild Mus.*
- MILL YARD (Goodman's Fields), pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vii., 168.
- MILTON STREET, bronze three-legged pot. *Baily Mss.*
- MINCING LANE, stone base and capital of column, tessellated pavement, depth 12 feet, quantities of pottery, concrete, and tiles; below a second floor of gravel, lime, and tiles, resting on the natural soil between the floors fragments of stone were found. This is a unique illustration of two distinct periods of building in the Roman city. Coins of early date, bone pins, pottery, and also remains of buildings. *Proc. E. M. L. & Midd. Arch. Soc.*, 1861, p. 91; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xi., 442.
- MINORIES, interment by inhumation, pottery, drain and roof tiles, leaden coffin. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ix., 161; xiii. 239; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1st ser., iii., 17.
- MONUMENT, remains of baths, tessellated work, tiles, &c. *Gent. Mag.*, 1831, i., 95.
- MOOR LANE, iron horse shoes, keys. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxii., 120; xxiii., 448; *L. & Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii.
- MOORFIELDS (Railway Excavations), fine Upchurch ware. *Baily Mss.*
- MOORGATE STREET ("Swan's Nest" in Great Swan Alley, on the bank of the watercourse, Wallbrook); a pit or well containing coins, boathook, and bucket handle; pottery of various kinds, depth 20 feet. *Arch.*, xxviii., 142-152; *Ibid.*, xxix.; *L. & Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii., 506, 507; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 17; *Brit. Mus.*
- NEWCASTLE STREET (Farringdon Street), coins, pottery, iron stylus. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1844, 68; *Num. Chron.*, vii., 192.
- NEWGATE, portions of the city wall, Mortaria, pottery, tiles, &c. *Lond & Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i., 195; *Price's Antiquities*.
- CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, fragments of stone column. *Arch.*, xxviii., 411.
- ANGEL STREET AND BUTCHER HALL LANE (King Edward Street), beads, bones, coins, pottery, traces of the city wall. *Arch.*, xxiv. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, i., 21, 22; ii., 81, 416, 417.
- NICHOLAS LANE, level 12 to 15 feet, amphoræ, beads, coins, lamps, glass, pottery, urns, tiles and walls, inscribed stone, PROVINCIA BRITANNIAE, inscribed slab, depth 11 feet. *Brit. Mus.*; *Coll. Antiq.*, iii., 257; *Gent. Mag.*, 1850, 114; *Hübner*, vii., 22, 23; *Rom. Lond.*, 29; *Arch.*, viii., 129; *Mus. Pract. Geol.*
- NORTHUMBERLAND ALLEY, pavement, depth 12 feet, in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London, a fragment is preserved.¹⁸ *Arch.*, xxxix., 491-502.

¹⁸ Mr. Albert Way's Catalogue of the Antiquities in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, 1847, 12.

NOTTING HILL, stone coffin containing skeleton and bones, depth 6 feet. *Gent. Mag.*, 1841.

OLD BAILEY, city wall in a line with the prison, a perfect votive arm in terra cotta, from Bishop's Court. *Guild. Mus.*; *Price's Rom. Antiq.*

OLD FORD, coins, leaden coffin containing human skeleton with lime, lid ornamented with cable moulding; stone coffins, pottery, &c., near the Saxon Road and Coborn Road, Bow, 60 yards south of the Roman way, depth 30 inches only; vase of pottery filled with coins of Allectus. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 327; *Proc. E. M. L. and M. A. Soc.*, 81; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1849, 1st ser. 57; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 207; *Num. Chron.*, ser. ii., 304, 306.

PANCRAZ LANE, pavements, pottery, &c. *Gent. Mag.*, 1795, 986.

PATERNOSTER ROW, coins, Samian and other pottery, tessellated pavement, tile tomb [see ante p. 275, note 2]. *Arch.* xxvi., 396; xxix., 155; *Rom. Lond.*, 57; *Baily Mss.*

PETTICOAT LANE, torso of statue in white marble, depth 17 feet. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 329; *Vest. Rom. Lond.*

PHILPOT LANE, bronze water cock (*Epistomium*), glass, Samian ware, and other pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ix. 190; *Mus. Prac. Geol.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 145.

PLAYHOUSE YARD (near to Apothecaries' Hall), inscribed stone. *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 125; *Hübner*, vii. 22; *Rom. Lond.*, 27.

PRINCES STREET (Bank), coins, fibulae, keys, knives, needles in brass and bone, spatulae, styli, curious ornamented object resembling the modern steel for sharpening knives. *Arch.*, xxviii. 140, 152.

POSTERN ROW, city wall. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, i. 607, 608; *Price's Rom. Antiq.*

PUDDING LANE, hypocaust, strong walls of tile and stone, pavements, inscribed tile, amphorae. *Arch.*, xxix. 154; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser., xii. 128.

QUEEN STREET (Cheapside), bronze figure of an archer found in 1842, horse furniture and finger ring, lamps, Samian and Upchurch ware. *Arch.*, xxx. 543, 544; *Fairholt, Miscellanea Graphica*, No. 8; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 134.

QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, *Area finalis* or liminary mark, depth 30 feet; artisans' tools, beads, candlesticks, chains, coins, fibulae, and a varied collection of personal ornaments in bronze, glass, hinges, horse furniture, keys and knives, lamps and lamp stands, manacles, perfume boxes, sandals and shoes ornamented and plain; Strigila, Styli, Samian, Durobrivian, and Upchurch pottery in quantities; potters' marks, many yet unpublished; "stone pine"¹⁹ or *Pinus pinea* of Linneus, its fruit rare. Coote's *Romans of Britain*, 435; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxix. 85; *Price's Rom. Antiq.*

RATCLIFFE HIGHWAY, bronze fibula. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, x. 91; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, iii. 15; *Trans. L. and M. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 15.

ROYAL EXCHANGE, pit 19 feet deep,²⁰ filled with refuse of animal and vegetable matter, bones, coins, fibulae, lamps, glass, sandals and shoes,²¹ Samian pottery, Styli in bronze and iron, Strigila, writing tablets (pugillares), *Arch.*, xxix. 268; *Cat. Ant. Royal Exch.*, 39; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vii. 82; *Guild. Mus.*; *Num. Chron.*, iii. 193; *Rom. Lond.*, 13, 137.

ST. MARTIN'S-IN-THE-FIELDS, brick arch found in 1722, depth 14 feet; stone coffin containing ashes and glass, in digging foundations for the portico. *Brayley's Lon. and Midd.*, i. 90; *Camden Britt.*, ii. 93.

¹⁹ A large proportion of these objects were discovered while excavating for the premises of the National Safe Deposit Company's offices, and those found in its site are preserved in their integrity in a separate case at the Guildhall Museum. It is seldom that such relics connected with the Roman *cutine* are discovered; this fruit, which was considered to have been introduced into this country in the year 1548, is still an article of sale. It is referred to by Apicius in his recipes for sauces for boiled fish. *Arch.*, xli. 283, 324.

²⁰ At this time a singular notice was posted at the Royal Exchange to the effect that if coins or other objects were delivered to the authorities, the workmen would be rewarded; but if found secreting the same, they would be prosecuted for felony.

²¹ It may be remarked that all collections of Roman relics from the city are exceptionally rich in sandals and shoes, both in reticulated patterns and plain; they abound in certain localities. Leather yields to the destructive action of atmospheric air and moisture, and it is only in localities where the air has been excluded that such can be preserved; the most favourable sites have proved to be Lothbury, Princes Street, site of the Exchange and river bed.

- ST. MARTIN'S LE GRAND, artisans' tools, bone spoons (*Cochlearia*), bronze fibulae, keys, objects in Terra Cotta, viz., lamp with four spouts, and figure of Venus, crucibles, quern or hand mill, upper and lower stones perfect, city wall, perfect section, 100 feet exposed. *Guild Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxix. 202; *Proc. Soc. Antig.*, ser. ii., iv., 466; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 124; *Athenæum*, 28 April, 1888.
- ST. MARY AT HILL, bones, bricks, coins, and pottery, found in 1774. *Arch.*, iv. 356; *Malcolm, Lond. Red.*, iii. 519.
- ST. MARYLEBONE, coins, large bronze key. *Brayley, Lon. and Midd.*, i. 91; *Camden Britt.*, ii. 93.
- ST. MILDRED'S COURT (Poultry), fibulae, pottery, tessellated pavement, the design much enhanced in effect by the introduction of coloured glass,²² Statera or steelyard (plated). *Mus. Pract. Geol.*; *Arch. Assoc.*, x., iii.; *Guild. Mus.*; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 217.
- ST. PAUL'S, Bones, coins, potters kilns found in 1677, depth about 15 or 16 feet, contained perfect specimens of bottles, dishes, lamps, urns, &c., pavements, Samian pottery. *Coll. Antig.*, vi. 173; *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, ii. 532-533; 1841, ii. 263-265; *Parentalia*, 286; *Sloane MSS. Brit. Mus.*, 958 fol. 105; *Rom. Lond.*, 79.
- ST. PETER'S HILL, Wall of brick in courses with rubble, depth 5 feet 10 inches. *Arch.*, xl. 48.
- SCOTS YARD, Pavements, depth 30 feet, a wall of great strength crossed the street diagonally, in width it measured 20 feet. *Arch.*, xxix. 156; *Rom. Lond.*, 14; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 213.
- SEETHING LANE, Bronze arm, fragments of a statue of heroic size found at the bottom of a well, tessellated pavements adjoining foundation of St. Olave's Church. *Proc. Soc. Antig.*; *Guild. Mus.*; *Arch.*, xxix. 153.
- SERMON LANE, Beads, bronze objects (undescribed). *Guild. Mus.*
- SHADWELL, Bones, leaden coffin, pins, urns, &c. *Brayley Lond. and Midd.*, i. 89; *Maitland Hist. Lond.*, 782; *Brit. Mus.*
- SHERBOURNE LANE, Pavement, depth 12 feet, width 20 feet, east to west, length not ascertained, others at divers levels, walls with other debris of buildings, many perforated by flues. *Arch.*, viii. 116-132; xxxix. 492; *Price's Tess. Pav.*, 18.
- SHOE LANE, Pottery, Samian ware, numerous potters' names. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, 639.
- SKINNER STREET, Samian bowl, embossed. *Guild. Mus.*
- SNOW HILL (Railway Excavations), earthenware dishes. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*
- SPIITALFIELDS, Glass ossuary or urn, with handle.²³ (St. Mary Spital Churchyard)—Excavations in 1576, coins, glass, pottery, stone coffins. *Maitland Hist. Lond.*, 745; *Stow*, 64.
- STEELYARD (DOWGATE), Embankment of great strength and durability, many of the timbers as much as 18 inches square, a bronze figure of "Hope," coins, fish hooks, glass, keys, knives, hanging lamp, with six spouts, pins, spoons, Strigils, sandals, and shoes in quantities. *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 77.
- SUFFOLK LANE, Buildings of superior class, frescoes, a fragment representing a youthful head, winged. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv. 388; *Proc. Soc. Antig.*, 1st ser., 1855, 194.
- SWAN LANE, Bronze statuettes, figures of Minerva and Fortune, likewise a "Lar." *Brit. Mus.*
- THAMES (Barnes), bronze statuettes. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii. 100.
- (Battersea), pewter cakes stamped SYAGRIVS and the Christian monogram. *Arch. Inst.*, xvi. 38; xxiii. 283; *Hübner*, vii. 22, 23, 1221; *Proc. Soc. Antig.*, 2nd series, ii. 234; *Brit. Mus.*
- (Hammersmith), spear heads. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*
- (Putney), iron sword (*Parazonium*), with remains of bronze sheath—ornamentation, birds with foliage, Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf, found in 1873. *Brit. Mus.* [See note 30.]

²² Drawing in the possession of John E. Gardner, F.S.A.

²³ Presented by Sir Christopher Wren to the Royal Society. *Parentalia*, 265. This probably belonged to the Ancient Cemetery, described by Stow "as Lolesworth, now Spittlefield."

THAMES STREET (Lower), Coal Exchange, remains of dwelling-house, bath, hypocaust, &c., &c., pins, pottery, and tiles, depth 10 feet 2 inches from surface, and 1 foot above high water level, finger rings with perfume box. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1st ser., 1848, 240; 2nd ser., ii. 163; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv. 38.

— (South Side), embankment depth 10 feet to 20, formed of trees, oak and chestnut. *Hist. and Antiq. St. Michael's Crooked Lane*, p. 14.

— (near London Bridge), Amphoræ, coins in numbers, gold, silver, and brass, among them leaden examples, Nero and Aurelian bronzes, figures of goats, peacock, head of wolf or dog, head, portrait of Hadrian, bronze instrument, a pair of brays or forceps for the nose of a victim; on the shanks are busts of the Gods presiding over the days of the week, viz., Cybele, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Ceres on one side, on the other Juno, Mars, Diana, Apollo and Saturn, all indicated by their peculiar attributes; statuettes of Apollo, Mercury, Priest of Cybele, Jupiter and Harpocrates; wooden piles encrusted with conglomerate and coins. *Brit. Mus.*; *Arch.*, xxiv. 190, 202; xxv. pl. 24; *Coll. Antiq.*, ii. 60; iii. vii.; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 285, iv. 57; *Rom. Lond.*, 21, 66, 68, 69, 72, 76; *Gent. Mag.*, 1827, ii. 69; 1835, i. 491, 493; *Num. Chron.*, iv. 147, 168.

THREADNEEDLE STREET, tessellated pavements²⁴ found in excavating the foundations of the French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street to prepare for the Hall of Commerce in 1841. *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 56.

THREE KING'S COURT (Lombard Street), beads of glass, bone draughtsmen, bronze objects, lamps, padlocks. *Guild. Mus.*

THROGMORTON STREET, Samian ware undescribed. *Mus. Pract. Geol.*

TOKENHOUSE YARD, bronze fibulæ, handles of boxes or caskets, knives, lamp and stands, trimmer for lamp, spindles and whorls, locks and keys, pottery, fine Upchurch ware (site of the New Auction Mart). *Baily Mss.*; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 217, 219; *Guild. Mus.*; *Brit. Mus.*

TOWER, inscribed stone sepulchral, found in 1777; coins, ingot of silver, stamped; inscribed stone, depth 18 feet; hand of colossal bronze statue; leaden coffin, portion of the City wall,²⁵ pavements, pottery, traces of dwellings towards the river, sculptures, tablet inscribed. *Hübner*, vii. 23; *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 140; *Gent. Mag.*, 1784, 403; *Arch.*, v., 292; *Rom. Lond.*, 25, 31, 65; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vii. 241; xxxviii. 127, 135, 447; *Rom. Lond.*, 15-27.

TOWER HILL,²⁶ sepulchral stone, inscribed. *Brit. Mus.*; *Arch. Inst.*, ix., 4; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, viii., 241; *Rom. Lond.*, 28; *Hübner*, vii., 23.

TRINITY COURT (Basinghall Street), pottery, late period. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*

TRINITY SQUARE, city wall, length removed for railway purposes, 73 feet, tessellated pavement on concrete bed, supported by a substructure of oak piling. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxviii., 447.

VINEYARD STREET (Minories), city wall: writing of this portion of the wall Dr. Woodward says: "This is the most considerable remain of Roman workmanship yet extant in any part of England that I know of." *Arch.*, xl., 299.

WALLBROOK, bronzes, bones and horns of oxen, cinerary urns, lamps and pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ix., 82; *Guild. Mus.*

WARWICK LANE, coins, cinerary urns, pins, pottery in quantities; perfect leaden *Ossuaria*²⁷ or cists containing bones, glass vase with handles, tiles, one inscribed urn with cover cut from a solid block of stone, contained bones and a coin of Claudius; tile from site of the present "Cutler's

²⁴ Mr. Roach Smith remarks that as these pavements were found beneath Threadneedle Street, it is excluded from any claims as a thoroughfare of remote antiquity.

²⁵ Drawings in possession of John E. Gardner, F.S.A., unpublished, a fine piece of the wall is yet preserved in the vaults of Messrs. Barbers' Warehouses, near Trinity Square.

²⁶ The recent discovery of this portion of the Wall proves the accuracy of the statement given by Coke in his *Institute*—"The Ancient Wall of London extended through the Tower; all that part on the west is within the City and Parish of All Saints, Barking. Therefore Weston the principal and Sir Gervas Elweys the accessory, in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, committed in the Tower on the west of the City Wall, were tried in the City of London."

²⁷ This specimen taken from the City Wall bears a curious inscription; it is now at Guildhall.

- Hall," perfect and inscribed. *Arch.*, xlviii., 221-248; *Brit. Mus.*; *Guild. Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xliii., 102; *Proc. Soc. Antig.*, 2nd ser., xi. 178; *Guild. Mus.*
- WATLING STREET, an ancient way terminating at Dover, continued from Stone Street, Southwark, at the point known as Dowgate, thence along present way to Aldersgate, whence it quitted the city. *Brayley's Lond. and Midd.*, i., 71.
- WELL STREET (Jewin Street), silver coins, bones, urns, &c. *Num. Chron.*, ix. 85; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii. 273.
- WEST SMITHFIELD, sepulchral remains, wooden coffin with pottery at the crown of the skull; Ampullæ, Mortarium, and Patera, at left hand of the interment; Armillæ, cattle or horse bells, glass, stone coffins, now in St. Bartholomew's Hospital. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, i. 520; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 37.
- WESTMINSTER ABBEY, inscribed stone coffin, preserved in the Abbey. *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 61-68.; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxvi. 76; *Price's Rom. Antig.*; *Arch. Inst.*, xxvii. 103; *Pro. Soc. Antig.*, 2nd ser., iv. 468-469.
- WHITECHAPEL (Red Lion Street), sepulchral deposits. *Arch.*, xxviii. 403.
- WHITECROSS STREET, quern of Purbeck stone. *L. and M. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 130; *Guild. Mus.*
- WHITE HART COURT, Samian bowls. *Cat. Lond. Antig.*, 36.
- WINCHESTER OR POULETT HOUSE (old Broad Street), beads, lamps, circular pavement, upon it charred coins, corn, and pottery. *Arch.* xxxix. 492.²⁸ *Guild. Mus.*
- WINDSOR COURT (Monkwell Street), pottery, portion of tower of City wall. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*
- WOOD STREET (Cheapside), at the corner of St. Michael's Church, mosaic pavements in profusion, foundations of the church upon them,²⁹ ridge tile inscribed. *Brit. Mus.*; *Gent. Mag.*, 1834, 157; *Price's Tess. Pavet.*, p. 23.

ii.—SOUTH OF THE THAMES.

- BEAR GARDEN (SOUTHWARK), Gladiators' tridents, Samian and other pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxii. 312.
- BLACKMAN STREET, Samian bowl. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*
- CHURCH STREET (BERMONDSEY), Amphoræ, coins, Samian bowls, depth 12 to 14 feet. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 312.
- DENMARK STREET, large vase. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*
- DEPTFORD, On the banks of the Surrey Canal, coins in quantities.³⁰
- DEPTFORD ROAD, Bricks, the hand of an ancient terminus with two faces, a "Simpulum," and urns in the immediate vicinity. *Brayley's Lond. and Midd.* i. 77; *Leland Itin.*, viii. 7.
- DEVERIL STREET (SOUTHWARK), Site of cemetery, amphoræ and other pottery, bronze mirrors, urns, with calcined bones. *Gent. Mag.*, 1835, i. 82; ii. 303; *Arch.*, xxvi. 467; xxviii. 412.
- KING'S HEAD YARD (SOUTHWARK), Amphoræ, coins, bird (*terra cotta*) in form of a whistle, filters, keys, mortaria. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxv. 216; xxxvii. 211; xxxviii. 101.
- NEW KENT ROAD, Coins and pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xiii. 321.
- NEWINGTON ROAD, Water pipes,³¹ near to St. Mary's Church. *Allen Hist. Lond.*, i. 37; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxi. 211.

²⁸ In this communication there is included a carefully prepared List of Tessellated Pavements found within the city limits.

²⁹ This was also the case at the site of St. Gabriel which formerly stood in Fenchurch Street. At the depth of 12 feet a tessellated floor was seen in 1833, and between Rood Lane and Mincing Lane a brick floor was found.

³⁰ These really came from London Bridge. The same as many found in the ballast spread on the towing path between Hammersmith and Barnes, as well as at Putney. This fact is to be recorded as a prevention against unwarranted theories which may be founded in connection with such discoveries at these places.

³¹ Probably Roman. Allen writes that in 1824 a portion of the Roman Road from St. Thomas-a-watering to Stangate was discovered near Newington Church.

PARK STREET (Southwark), ironwork, nails, piles, timbers, and other indications of a platform of a Roman jetty or landing place, facing Dowgate on the opposite side of the river. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxv., 80.

ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH (SOUTHWARK), Amphoræ and other pottery, coins, glass, personal ornaments, tessellated pavement, adjoining the church. *Gent. Mag.*, 1825, ii., 633-634; 1832, i., 399-400; ii., 17; 1840, i., 191-192.

ST. THOMAS' HOSPITAL (and adjoining), lamps, pavements, and pottery, depth 7 to 8 feet, tessellated floor with passages and walls, all built on piles; upon the floor a number of coins of the early Empire, lamps, pottery, &c. *Arch.*, xxix., 149; Ralph Lindsay *Ety. of Southwark*, 1839.

SOUTHWARK, pewter dishes inscribed *Martinus*, iron sickle (rare, smaller than those now in use, but similar to example at Pompeii) *Fuscina* or trident used by the Gladiators in combat, styli, &c. *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 72; *Brit. Mus.*

SOUTHWARK STREET, wooden piling, depth 12 feet, driven straight into the earth, they varied from 5 to 11 feet in length, and many were as thick as 12 inches square; pottery, walls, &c. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxii., 445. *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 213.

TOOLEY STREET, (near to St. Olave's Church), coins, mortaria and other pottery. *Gent. Mag.*, 1833, i., 482; ii., 194.

UNION STREET (Southwark), pottery. *Gent. Mag.*, 1825, ii., 633, 634.

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11. FOREIGN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

Andree (R.), Swinigel und Hase. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xix. 674-675.

—— Ringwall im Hörnegebirge. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xix. 727-729.

Bartels (M.), Südslavische Dorfanlagen und Häuser. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 666-668.

—— Dorfanlagen im Kreisse Neidenburg Ostpreussen. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 676-678.

Bastian (A.), Sammlung des Leutnant Wissmann. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xix. 682-688.

—— Priester-Königthum. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 711-712.

Behla (A.), 3 neu entdeckte Rundwälle in der Umgebung Luckau's. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 609.

Berger (V.), Die Kirche zu St. Georgen in Niederheim. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 40-41.

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Boenheim (W.), Alte Glasgemälde in Wiener-Neustadt. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 22-25.

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Deschmann (K.), Neueste Funde römischer Steinsärge in Laibach. *Mitth. der K. K. Central-Comm.* xiv. 5-7.

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Frothingham (A. L.), Letter from Roma [recent discoveries]. *American Arch Journ.* iii. 387-392.

Ghirardini (G.), Intorni alle Antichità scoperte nel fondo Baratela. *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità.* Genn. Feb. 1888. Pp. 1-42. 71-127. Pl. 1.12. Rome.

Goodyear (W. H.), Egyptian origin of the Ionic capital and of the Anthemion. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 271-302.

- Grempler (), die Dreirollen-Fibeln von Sakrau. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 654-655.
- Helm (Otto), Herkunft des Bernsteins an einigen Fibeln im Museum zu Klagenfurt. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 604-605.
- Ilg (A.), Lunz und Umgebung. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 41-47.
- Jagor (), Ausstellung von den Philippinischen Inseln in Madrid. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 730-731.
- Jenny (S.), Bauliche Ueberreste eines Privatbades in der Oberstadt von Brigantium. *Mitth. der K. K. Central-Comm.* xiv. pp. 3-5.
- Glasgemälde aus Vorarlberg. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 18-22.
- Jentsch (H.), niederlausitzische Alterthümer. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 721-722.
- Kaufmann (R. von), das Gräberfeld von Schlaupitz, Kr. Reichenbach Schlesien. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 678-682.
- Lemke (E.), prähistorische Begräbnisplätze in Kerpen, Ostpr. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 600-613.
- Lewis (T. H.), The old fort earthworks of Greenup county, Kentucky. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 375-382.
- Marquand (Allan), A Silver Patera from Kourion. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 322-337.
- Merriam (A. C.), Painted sepulchral stelai from Alexandria. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 261-268.
- Greek inscriptions published in 1886-87. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 303-321.
- Muck (M.), Die Bronzeschatz von grehin gradac in der Herzegovina. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 7-15.
- Müller (R.), Die Capelle des gräflichen Schlosses in Reichenberg. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 1-3.
- Olshausen (), über Gräber der Bronzezeit in Hinterpommern untersucht durch Dr. W. König in Stettin. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 605-607.
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- Ramsay (W. M.), Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the borderlands. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 344-368.
- Schierenberg (G. A. B.), das Mithraeum in Ostia und das in den Externsteinen. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 608.
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- Schwartz (W.), Alte Hausanlagen. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 668-671.
- Traube (H.), ein neuer Fund von ausstehendem Nephrit bei Reichenstein in Schlesien. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 652-654.
- Ueber verschiedene Kunstdenkmale Tyrols. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 35-37.
- Virchow (R.), das alte deutsche Haus. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 568-589.
- Ward (W. H.), Notes on Oriental Antiquities. iv. an Eye of Nabu. v. a Babylonian Bronze Pendant. vi. the Stone Tablet of Abu Habba. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 338-343.
- Assyro-Babylonian forgery, ii. the Sun-god on Babylonian Cylinders. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 383-386.

- Wedding (), Alterthümer von Gulbien, Kr. Rosenberg, Ostpreussen. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 675-676.
 Wilson (T.), Epitome of prehistoric Archaeology in Western Europe, part iv. *American Antiq.* x. 158-166.
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12. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1886-1887.

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- Acland (Rev. C. L.), some stone circles on the side of a hill at the east end of Quendale Bay, Shetland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 282-284.
 Anderson (J.), notice of an urn and four arrowheads of flint found in a cist at Dairsie, Fifeshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 132-133.
 Bain (J.), Two original seals of James, first Lord Hamilton, one attached to a document dated in 1457, the other to an original truce between England and Scotland, on September 23, 1473. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 203-205.
 Bates (E. H.), Leland in Somersetshire, 1540-1542. *Somerset Arch. Soc.*, xiii., 60-136.
 Batten (John), The early owners of Limington. *Somerset Arch. Soc.*, xiii., 137-145.
 Beddoe (J.), Report on Roman Remains discovered at Northstoke. *Somerset Arch. Soc.*, xiii., 149-150.
 Black (G. F.), a sculptured stone in the Isle of Man, with representation of Sigurd Fafni's Bane. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 325-338.
 Boyd (D. A.), and J. Smith, notice of a rock surface, with cup marks and other sculpturings, at Blackshaw, West Kilbride, Ayrshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 143-151.
 Christison (D.), the Pre-historic Forts of Peeblesshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 13-82.
 Cursiter (J. W.), notice of a canoe recently found in the Island of Stronsay, Orkney. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 279-281.
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 Duns (Prof.), Notes on Easter Ross. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 165-169.
 Ferguson (R. S.), notice of a penannular brooch of silver, with ends like thistle heads, found at Casterton, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 141-142.
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 Hamilton (G.), notices of rock sculpturings of cups and circles in Kirkcudbrightshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 151-160.
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- Irvine (J. T.), some pre-historic burial places and standing stones in the Island of Yell, Shetland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 215-219.
- Kinglake (R. A.), in memoriam Thomas Hutton Knyston. *Somerset Arch. Soc.*, xiii., 157-167.
- Lockhart (Rev. W.), a deed (circa 1226) settling a controversy between the Rector of St. Cuthbert's, Hales (Colinton), and the Church of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, in regard to the Teinds "De Craggis et Gorgin." *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 275-279.
- Lovett (E.), the Gun Flint Manufactory at Brandon, with reference to the bearing of its processes upon the modes of flint working practised in pre-historic times. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 206-212.
- MacAdam (W. J.), notes on the ancient iron industry of Scotland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 89-131.
- Maxwell (Sir H. E.), further excavation of St. Ninian's Cave, parish of Glasserton, Wigtownshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 137-141.
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- was the town of Edinburgh an open and defenceless one previous to 1450? *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 251-260.
- Morgan (Professor C. L.), the stones of Stanton Drew: their source and origin. *Somerset Arch. Soc.*, xiii., 37-50.
- Paul (J. B.), Beggars' Badges, with notes on the licensed mendicants of Scotland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 169-179.
- Paton (Sir N.), Clach-na-Bratach the stone of the Standard. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 226-236.
- Poynton (Rev. F. J.), notes on a Roman burial-place discovered at Northstoke, in December, 1897. *Somerset Arch. Soc.*, xiii., 143-148.
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- four stained-glass shields of arms and a monumental slab in St. Magdalene's Chapel, Cowgate. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 266-274.
- Sim (G.), Aberdeen Treasure Trove. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 223-225.
- Taylor (John), Church of the Temple or the Holy Cross, Bristol. *Somerset Arch. Soc.*, xiii., 51-59.
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History.

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THE HISTORY OF THE WORD HEARSE IN ENGLAND.

WHEN we hear the word *hearse* used in conversation, or meet with it in books, we picture to ourselves the funeral car in which a dead body is carried to the grave. So entirely have the other meanings of this word dropped out of use and memory, that we have encountered more than one person of education and culture who has been not a little puzzled to interpret certain passages in our earlier literature in which it occurs with significations widely differing from the one at present in use.

Hearse is derived from *herpicem*, the acc. of *hirpax*, a harrow. In this sense we occasionally meet with it in English. In Lord Berner's Translation of Froissart we are told in one place that "The archers . . . stode in the maner of a herse, and the men of armes in the botome of the batayle," and in another that "at thende of this hedge, when as no man can go nor ryde there be men of armes afote and archers afore them, in maner of a herse, so that they woll nat be lightly discomfyted."¹ We are also informed that the device on a certain "standerd was a herse of golde, standyng on a bed goules."² That is in the language of modern heraldry *gules* a harrow on. We also find it used by soldiers in a different but nearly related sense. Sir Richard Burton informs us that "*Herses* is the old military name for a column as opposed to *haye*, a line. So we read that at the far-famed Cressy, the French fought 'en bataille à haye,' the English drawn up 'en herse.'"³ The Scotch never gave the world a translation of the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue, but we owe to one of that nation the best version of the works of Rabelais in existence. Sir Thomas Urquhart makes his author say, when describing the terror caused by Philip of Macedon's preparation for the siege of Corinth, that the people "fastened the *hereses*, *sarasinesks* and *cataracts*."⁴ Here a *portcullis* is obviously meant,

¹ Ed., 1523, vol. i., ch. cxxx., 156., ch. clx., 195.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., ch. clxxi., 501.

³ *El Medinah and Meccah*, ii., 6.

⁴ *Gargantua*, Book iii. Prol. Ed. 1858., p. 290.

The late Mr. Charles Hartshorne uses *herse* in a similar manner. In a paper on Orford Castle he says, "The entire absence of the *Herse* is very unusual, and can only be explained, under the supposition that there was one at the porch of entrance, now fallen."⁵ Mr. Hartshorne may have had in his mind the way in which Cæsar and Sallust use a kindred word, "*Erat objectus portis eritius.*"⁶ "*Eminebant in modum ericii militaris veruta binum pedum.*"⁷ Vossius, commenting on the former passage, says, "*Est trabs, cui infixæ pinnæ ferræ; et sæpe versatilia.*"⁸

As late as the days of Caxton, *hearse* in the sense of harrow seems to have been familiar, for we read in his *Ovid's Metamorphosis* of a man who "kembyd his heer with a hierche in stede of a combe."⁹

The earliest ecclesiastical use of the word seems to have been to indicate the triangular candlestick made of bars crossing each other like the "bulls" and "slots" of a harrow. It was used in the service of *tenebræ* and probably on other occasions. The number of candles in the *hearse* are said to have varied from seven to thirty-two. Sometimes the shape of the *hearse* was modified; it ceased to be like a harrow, and assumed the form of a triangular stand on a foot, it then was used to contain fourteen yellow wax candles and one of white wax in the middle. The yellow candles were symbols of the eleven faithful apostles and the three Mary's, the white candle representing our blessed Lord. In the *tenebræ* service fourteen psalms were chanted, and as each was ended a taper was put out, and the white taper, still burning, was hidden near the altar.¹⁰ Some of these *hearses* seem to have been very elaborate affairs, in which in latter times, it is probable, the harrow-like form had been completely lost. In Strype's *Memorials of the Reformation* we read of "an *herse* of four branches with gilt candlesticks and two white branches and three dozen staff torches."¹¹ These triangular candlesticks seem to have been much like the harrows employed by farmers in the middle ages, and thenceforward almost without change of structure down to the early years of the present century. They were commonly used in triplets and united together by a chain or thick piece of rope. A good representation of this old-fashioned implement may be seen in Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*,

⁵ *Archæologia*, xxix., 62.

⁶ *Com. de Bell. Civ. lib.*, iii., c., 67.

⁷ *Fragm. lib.*, iii.

⁸ Davis's *Cæsar*, *Lugd. Bat.*, 1713, p. 566.

⁹ B. xiii. c. 15.

¹⁰ *Synodus Eton*, A.D. 1287, in Wilkins' *Concilia*, ii., 139.

¹¹ Ed., 1665, iv., p. 376.

where the reader is informed that a family of the name of Harrow bear "Ermyne three harrows conjoynd in the nombril of the escocheon with a wreath, argent."¹² The wreath is a mere fancy of the author or of some previous herald from whom he has copied. It is the cord or chain by which the triplet is locked together. These harrows were commonly very rude and simple things; except on stony land the teeth—called tines or tushes—were of wood, pins of oak or ash. The farmer took a supply of them to the field with him in his pocket, so that when one was broken it could be immediately replaced.

Now that hearse had become familiar as a term to distinguish a structure in the form of a harrow used for supporting candles, it was natural to transfer the word to that light frame of wood, also decked with candles, which it was the custom to place over a dead body in church before the funeral rites began, for the purpose of supporting the pall. These frames were part of the ordinary furniture of a parish church in unreformed times. I am not aware of a solitary example having been preserved, nor is it probable that any should have been, for they were of a light and fragile nature so as to be easily carried about. They are, however, very often mentioned. From a memorandum in the Churchwardens' Account Books of Louth in Lincolnshire of the year 1522, it appears that the bellman on each occasion of the hearse being used was to have one penny and no more, for setting it, that is, for placing it over the body.¹³ In the little church of Awkborough, in the same county, near the confluence of the Trent and the Humber, there was, in 1565, a hearse which the churchwardens for some reason or other regarded as superstitious, and consequently sold to one of the villagers who "put it to prophane vse."¹⁴ At Newton, another Lincolnshire village, a hearse had been sold the year before to a man who had broken it in pieces.¹⁵ Rich cloths or palls were thrown over these hearses when service was going on. There are many references to them in Mr. Daniel Tyssen's Inventories of the Churches of Surrey.¹⁶ Robert Burton, declaiming on the tale of the

¹² *Fifth Ed.*, 1679, p. 214.

¹³ A few extracts from these most interesting documents have been printed with shameful inaccuracy. The writer made a full transcript of them some years ago. He trusts soon to be able to print the whole without abridgment. They began in the year 1500.

¹⁴ Peacock, *Eng. church Furniture*, p. 36.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 118.

¹⁶ pp. 17, 40, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 67, 90, 116, 119, 131, 154: cf. *Archæologia*, xliii., 240; Money, *ch. Goods in Berks*, 41; Jupp, *Carpenters Co.*, 20.

wicked rich man, tells us that "he perisheth like a beast . . . for all his physitions and medicines inforcing nature, a sowning wife, families, complaints, frends, teares, dirges, masses, naenias, funerals, for all orations, counterfect hired acclamations, elogiums, epithaphes, herses . . . and Mausolean tombs, if he have them at least, he dies like a dog, goes to hel with a guilty conscience and many a poor man's curse."¹⁷

The parish bier was sometimes furnished with a head or lid of this kind, of a curved form, something like the head of an old-fashioned stage-waggon. A bier with a lid of this sort existed in Northorpe church, in Lincolnshire, in the early part of this century, but is now destroyed. There were, I have heard, two others at Campsall in Yorkshire, which are also said to be lost.

A few specimens remain of hearses of this kind made in metal, and permanently affixed to tombs for the purpose of supporting the lights and the rich cloths with which the piety of our forefathers were wont to decorate the tombs of the dead. A very beautiful hearse of this sort still canopies the tomb of one of the Marmions in Tanfield Church, Yorkshire. It has attached to it sconces for holding seven candles, two on each side and three on the ridge.¹⁸ The effigy in the Warwick Chapel of Richard, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439, possesses one of these frames: it is smaller than the Tanfield specimen, but is executed in brass. The contract with the makers informs us that it was meant to "beare a covering."¹⁹

Portions of what must have been a remarkably beautiful hearse of this kind are now preserved in the Museum at South Kensington. They were removed from Snarford Church, Lincolnshire, many years ago. The general character and ornamental details make it probable that it is of fifteenth century date. A representation of it is given in the writer's *English Church Furniture*.²⁰ The author of *Morte Arthur* was well acquainted with these hearses and their uses. He writes of

"A tombe that new was dyghte

These on an herae sothely to saye
With an C tappers lyghtes."²¹

From these permanent hearses, the transition was almost imperceptible to those large temporary structures of timber hung

¹⁷ *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2nd ed., 1624, p. 267.

¹⁸ *Reports of Ass. Architec. Soc.* 1851, 250.

¹⁹ *Parker, Gloss. Architec.* 1850-1, 250.

²⁰ p. 126.

²¹ *Roxb. Club*, p. 114.

with rich cloths and banners, under which the corpses of great people were placed when they rested for the night on the long journeys which often had to be taken to the place of burial. Minute accounts of many of these structures have been preserved. There is an engraving of one in Nichol's *Illustrations of Manners and Expenses in England*.²² And of another in the *Vetusta Monumenta*.²³ In the rubrics of some foreign churches this kind of hearse is spoken of under the name of "castrum doloris." The Italians know it as "catafalco," the French as "chapelle ardente."²⁴ Wycliff in an invective against the pompous funerals of the rich, speaks of "ful rich heerses & grete festis after."²⁵ Chaucer in his *Dream* had before him a canopy of this kind—

"In an abbey of nunnes which were blake

Ordeint and said was the servise,
Of the prince and of the queen,
So devoutly as might been,
And after that about the herse,
Many orisons and verses
Without note full softly,
Said were and that full heartily,
That all the night till it was day,
The people in the church can pray
Unto the holy Trinity,
Of those souls to have pity."²⁶

It is said, but I have not come upon the passage, that Jeremy Taylor speaks of the hearse being strewn with flowers.²⁷ This is almost certain to have been the case. Flowers were constant accessories of worship in olden times, and even during the commonwealth when religious symbolism was more deeply under the ban of public opinion than at any other time, there are instances of churches being decorated with flowers. Philip Henry, in his diary, mentions a case of this kind and tried to hinder it, but happily was unsuccessful.²⁸ Dr Rock gives several examples of torches and candles being wreathed with flowers.²⁹ As this was evidently a common practice, it is probable that the lights burning on the hearse would be so decorated.

²² Last leaf.

²³ Vol. iv. pl. 18.

²⁴ Rock. *Ch. of our Fathers*, II. 496.

²⁵ *Of Antichrist and his Meyner*, 152.

²⁶ Line 1806.

²⁷ Walcott, *Sacred Archaeology*, 312.

²⁸ Lee's, *Diaries and Letters of Ph. Henry*, p. 53.

²⁹ *Church of our Fathers*, ii. 425, iii. i. 274., iii. ii. 98.

The funeral car originally differed little from the stationary canopy, except that it had wheels and was of a smaller size. When prayer for the dead ceased to be a part of the national religion, this became the popular meaning, and the older significations have been well-nigh forgotten. Milton uses the word in the modern sense.

"Gentle lady, may thy grave
Peace and quiet ever have;
After this thy travel sore
Sweet rest sieze thee evermore.

Here be tears of perfect moan
Wept for thee in Helicon,
And some flowers and some bays
For thy herse to strew the ways."³⁰

In the reign of William III. the hearse, as we know it, had become common, and was, as at present, let out for hire. The *London Gazette* of 1690 contains an advertisement setting forth that "If any have occasion for a coach or hearse to Deal, Dover, or any other place upon the road, they may be furnished."³¹

Hearse is sometimes used as a figure of speech for a corpse—

"Now grew the battell hot, bold Archas pierces
Through the mid-hoast and strews the way with hersees."³²

And a writer in 1659 says: "The thunderbolt of judgment, levelled at his life, he yet with a passive valour . . . with a constancy which might cast a blush on the ghost of an ancient Roman hearse, but continues his resolution."³³

I have met with a single instance, though there may be many more, where it seems to stand for a cart or carriage, if not, indeed, for a beast of burden, without any reference to either the harrow, the candlestick, or a dead body. Horace advises Lollius, when his friend has a mind to take his dogs and cattle laden with nets into the fields for sport, to cheerfully make one of the company.³⁴ Robert Hyrde paraphrased this passage in his translation of Vives *Instruction of a Christian woman*, in these words. They are printed as prose, but seem to be meant for verse. "If he list to hunt . . . do thou not sit to make verses, but cast uppe thy

³⁰ *Epitaph on March. of Winchester.*

³¹ *Mmlvj. col. 4.*

³² *Th. Heywood Britaines Troy c. iiij. st. 86. fol. 72.*

³³ *The Unhappy Marksman in Harl Misc. iii. 9.*

³⁴ *Epist. lib. 1. 18.*

muses, and follow the hersees, carrying the nets and lead forth the dogs."³⁵

The word, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, acquired a further meaning, as rich hangings were wont to be hung around stationary or temporary hearses. These products of the loom or the embroidery frame acquired the name of the thing they covered. A writer of the year 1581 speaks of "all other marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the sea, as sylkes, wynis, oylis, . . . and all hearses and tapestry."³⁶

The above is but an imperfect history of a curious word. I have only traced, and that in part, its adventures in England. Its fate in continental lands has not been less interesting.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

³⁵ 1592. *Sign R* fol. 4.

³⁶ Stafford, *Exam. of Complaints*, i. p. 16 (ed. 1876).

REVIEW.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH ECONOMIC HISTORY AND THEORY: THE MIDDLE AGES. BY W. J. ASHLEY. LONDON (RIVINGTONS) 1888. 8vo, pp. xiii. 227.

A work of this kind has been very much needed. Economic history has been adequately, though of course not finally, dealt with in the works of Gneist, Maine, Nasse, Seebohm, and others; economic theory has been worked up by writers from Adam Smith to Fawcett. That both history and theory needed bringing into contact is a thought that has occurred to many of us, but it has remained for Mr. Ashley to carry out this necessary piece of work.

Setting to work with the known factors of his subject, Mr. Ashley first treats of the manor and village community from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. He lays emphasis upon the fact which has not been sufficiently insisted upon by historians that "till nearly the end of the fourteenth century England was a purely agricultural country. Such manufactures as it possessed were entirely for consumption within the land. The only articles of export were the raw products of the country;" and after a very succinct description of the details of agricultural life, the well known divisions of the land into acre and half-acre strips held by a group

of tenants in intermixed tenure in the common field, the powers and duties of the tenants in admitting new tenants, in their right to the soil and in their dues to the lord, he summarizes the economical position of the country by pointing out that "the fundamental characteristic of the manorial group was its *self-sufficiency*, its *social independence*," and its "corporate unity." This again is a phase of manorial life which has not been sufficiently insisted upon by historians; and we cannot help thinking that with these two important conclusions brought now into proper historical prominence the future work of those who seek to investigate the early history of this country will be considerably lightened.

In working out the details of manorial history Mr. Ashley has been studiously careful not to overstep the boundaries of his own special study. It is only incidentally that he touches upon points which illustrate some of the larger subjects with which an inquiry into manorial history must of necessity be concerned. For instance, the well known theories which divide students of the subject into two opposite camps, those who follow Seebohm and those who follow Maine and Von Maurer, find very little assistance from Mr. Ashley. He summarizes very usefully the arguments for and against Mr. Seebohm's theory with a bias we should infer in favour of it; and in this he lays great stress upon the fact that "it is the uniform agricultural system, the system of joint compulsory labour that is so difficult to explain on the old hypothesis" of free village communities having gradually become subject to such extremely onerous burdens. We do not now wish to enter into the controversy, but it is worth while bearing in mind that the uniformity of the agricultural system only becomes apparent in the eleventh century, and that then it is reduced to this appearance of uniformity by the officialism of a strong central government which no more understood the inner life of the communities than Elizabeth's commissioners understood the Irish social system, than the long line of Anglo-Indian officials understood the Hindu social system. To read the early reports on Indian matters, one would suppose there was but little difference between the Hindu village community and the English manor as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is talk about the lord of the manor and the tenant, whereas there existed only the headman of the village and his fellow villagers. We protest most strongly against legal and official documents being made to do duty for history. To take one phase of our village life, that of the open democratic assembly, held in London itself down to the reign of Henry III. in spite of the Guildhall, there is not a single reference to such an institution in Domesday nor in any legal document. Yet it is difficult to believe that a community which possessed so distinctively a primitive feature of early Teutonic freedom could have been of itself unfree. The history of the London folkmoot proclaims the true nature of the struggle. It was not *for* freedom on the part of a serf-bound community, but *against* free institutions on the part of successful commercialism backed up by a chartered constitution, and in this we have a distinct reversal of the theory held by the followers of Mr. Seebohm. Again let us take the argument of uniformity from another standpoint, namely, the endeavour to see if uniformity is possible under any other condition than that of compulsion from a higher authority. This can be done only by an appeal to comparative

history. Over and over again in this domain of study we are met with the proposition that like causes produce like results, until one is forced to conclude that throughout the world the course of social development has been largely along parallel lines wherever it has been brought under scientific observation. Granting then free village communities belonging to one stock group following therefore the same sort of life and possessing in the main the same system of economic theory; granting the conquest by these communities of a country already occupied by other people not widely separated from themselves in economic ideas; granting subsequent contact with other peoples of kindred race and development; granting the gradual though slow development of a nationality out of these aggregated communities; and where is the difficulty for the rise of a tolerably uniform system? Then if we add to the facts of uniformity, the facts of parallel social customs in widely distant lands, the difficulty seems to us to be not so great as it is made out to be. Of course it is not possible to go deeply into this question now. Let us note however that in the Dittmarsh free village community every one was free to employ himself on his own account for three days in the week, the remainder of the week being due to the community, while among the wild races of India each adult is liable for three days' work in each year without pay at the chief's bidding. Surely here we have evidence of compulsory labour unaccompanied by serfdom.

When we pass on to Mr. Ashley's second chapter, the merchant and craft guilds, we are impressed with the same idea that the economical side of early English history favours the theory of a descent from free village communities rather than from village communities in serfdom. We meet with bodies of men trading together, not as a company of traders like those of the present day, putting capital together, but as *naturally* constituted communities who work or trade together because they have not yet arrived at the stage of thought where it is conceivable that an individual could separate himself from his fellows. It is communism based upon the living characteristics and conceptions of the archaic family, having therefore historical continuity for its origin, and not legislative or commercial creation. Mr. Ashley quotes the famous example of Totnes to prove that the ancient guilds included a very considerable number of persons, and that blood relationship was one of the means of becoming entitled to membership. We cannot get away from such a conspicuous example without going back to the well known facts of archaic society for an explanation of its singular provisions. The economic conditions of early Guild history are clearly shown by Mr. Ashley to be based upon the theory of mutual help and responsibility, each member being bound to submit to regulations for the common good, and to come to the assistance of his fellow-members. "If a guildsman of Southampton were put into prison in any part of England, the alderman and steward, with one of the *échevins*, were bound to go at the cost of the guild to procure his deliverance. At Berwick 'two or three of the guild' were bound to labour on behalf of any one in danger of losing life or limb, though only for a few days, at the guild's expense. Individuals were not to monopolize the advantages of trade." Such regulations are possible only upon the assumption that the guilds took up the older family life of the people at the point where the old family life had come to an end. They were not the isolated

invention of one locality, and they were not the legislative invention of statecraft, being found to be "common to the whole society of the time," as Mr. Ashley points out; such a common institution must have been derived from a previously existing institution, quite as common to the whole society of the time, and the only institution which can possibly answer to such a state of things is the archaic family, broken into by Christianity on the theory of marriage, broken into by the theories of the civil law, broken into by the growing nationality of the country, but still a living influence upon the action and thought of the people at large, who have never yet at any time or in any country, advanced so far in economic or political knowledge as the governors of the nation which they inhabit. Old clan instincts existed to a considerable extent, and maintained the idea that the men of other towns were foreigners; there was no capital in the country to take men's thoughts away from their local surroundings, there was only abundance of labour power which, at first occupied within the domains of its own local community, at last came to look beyond. Internal trade was simply the exchange of surplus commodities between one independent village and another. The overstepping of this boundary was first made by the weavers. Weaving hitherto done by the women of each community to supply the clothes for members of the community only, began early to break the bounds of locality, and accordingly we find that the weavers' guild was the first of the craft guilds to be formed; and yet it is singular that even in recent times the older system had not yet entirely disappeared, for we know of several examples in Scotland where, at the beginning of this century, each community was clothed by the work produced from the handlooms of the women of the community. The economical phase which this state of things presents to the enquirer is admirably put by Mr. Ashley when he states that "what existed was scarcely more than a trade between certain towns, an inter-communal or inter-municipal commerce," as contrasted with the national commerce of the present day.

Finally Mr. Ashley puts before us an exposition of the existing economic theories and legislation, which is of the highest value and interest. Here we think Mr. Ashley has done almost unique service, especially as he treads upon nearly virgin soil. How clearly he grasps the true position of things is best shown by the opening statement of his third chapter that "the social development with which hitherto we have been dealing may in a sense be called *spontaneous*; we have now to see how the forces of Church and State took hold of the growing society and attempted to control its activity." The self-growth which Mr. Ashley indicates by his term *spontaneous* is a factor of large importance in understanding the early history of society, and it is this very self-growth which marks the borderland of archaic society and political society. The Church was not antagonistic to the self-growth of early society. Cosmopolitan as were its doctrines and faith, its theories, where they touched upon economics, were wholly consistent with a state of things which eschewed individual gain, which condemned commercial ideas, and which ran very near to pure communism. The communism of the early Church was philosophical in its origin, but it is easy to understand how well it fitted in with the historical communism of the early societies with which after the fall of the Roman empire it was destined to come into close contact. When St. Ambrose exclaimed, "that

which is taken by thee beyond what would suffice to thee is taken by violence . . . thinkest thou thou committest no injustice by keeping to thyself alone what would be the means of life to many? . . . It is the bread of the hungry thou keepest, it is the clothing of the naked thou lockest up; the money thou buriest is the redemption of the wretched," he proclaims ideas and theories perfectly at one with those held by the vast mass of the people of his age. His opponents were the new school of jurists who had become steeped in the revived studies of Roman law, which, belonging to a more advanced society, could not at once be accepted by such a backward society as the villagers of mediæval England belonged to. We shall not follow Mr. Ashley into this portion of his disquisition. To the economist it is a most valuable chapter of information from a source which has been almost a sealed book to him hitherto; to the historian it is something more. It tells of a phase of social history not hitherto quite recognised to have existed at all; it tells of a phase of political history which for the first time is capable of adequately explaining the cause and justification of the usury laws, the currency provisions and other important subjects; finally it tells of a phase of church history which must bid pause those who are gradually giving up belief in the secular life or secular history of the Church. For our own part we have long recognised that the over-spiritualizing of the Church in later days has done it incalculable harm both in its teaching and its position. This is not the place to insist on this question, but it is useful to turn to Mr. Ashley's pages for a chapter in church history which throws an unexpected light upon the early secular characteristics of its position and powers. In all these researches it must be borne in mind that the historian does not touch upon the political side of the question, for to quote Mr. Ashley's prefatory note, "History seems to be proving that no great institution has been without its use for a time and its relative justification. Similarly it is beginning to appear that no great conception, no great body of doctrines which really influenced society for a long period was without a certain truth and value, having regard to contemporary circumstances."

Literature.

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HIAWATHA AND THE KALEVALA.

IN the year 1855, the literary world in Europe and America was surprised by the appearance of Longfellow's Indian poem, "The Song of Hiawatha." The metre was unfamiliar to English ears, and was supposed by many at the time to be the invention of Longfellow himself. This led to its being ridiculed and parodied in various forms.

But it is impossible to glance at Prof. Schiefner's German version of the Finnish epic poem known as the Kalevala, published in 1852, without perceiving at once that Longfellow borrowed the metre and style of his "Hiawatha" from this source, though the two poems have comparatively little in common beyond occasional though very obvious points of similarity; and my friend Dr. Garnett has kindly called my attention to some passages in Longfellow's own diary for June, 1854,¹ which show positively that Longfellow was reading the Kalevala at that time (probably in Schiefner's version, then quite recent), and meditating an Indian poem in the same metre.

But Longfellow was not the first writer to employ this metre in English. In 1850, five years before the publication of "Hiawatha," Kenealy published the first incomplete version of his remarkable, but little-known, poem, "The New Pantomime," under the title of "Goethe." Here we find very nearly the same metre employed occasionally in several scenes, as, for instance, "Tartarus of Hades," where the lost spirits in the Styx appeal in vain to the avenging angel for mercy; and again in "The Witch's Star" (called in later editions "The Witch's Masqué"), where Goethe is tempted by Calypso, Armida, and Alcina, in the train of the Witch of Endor. As a specimen, I quote the Witch of Endor's welcome to Goethe and Mephistopheles:

"We shall be indeed delighted
Such fair travellers to welcome.
Lo, I wave my wand of magic,
And a banquet spreads before ye.

¹ This seems to dispose conclusively of the date of 1842, assigned to Hiawatha, on what grounds I know not, in some editions of Longfellow's works.

These young Cupids, crowned with roses,
And with lilies, in whose eyelids
Shines the softness of the moonlight,
And with wings of gold and purple
Waving melody, will serve ye.
Sit, brave sir, beside this ladye,
On this bank of fan-like flowers.
You, Sir Volland, couch beside me ;
While we banquet, sweet Calypso
Will with magic lays enweave us
In a rosy spell of rapture."

The materials of the Kalevala were orally collected by Dr. Elias Lönnrot in Finland, and were afterwards woven by him with additions of his own into a connected whole. The first recension was published in 1835, and contained 32 runos or cantos, and about 12,000 lines ; and the second, published in 1849, contained 50 runos and about 22,800 lines. There are complete translations of the first recension in Swedish and French ; and of the second in Swedish (two), German (two), French (one), Russian (one), and Hungarian (one), besides numerous abridgments, episodes, and fragments in various languages.

The Kalevala bears evident signs of having been composed, or rather, perhaps, altered and added to, in different ages. The greater part is pre-Christian, and exhibits a system of nature-worship, animism, and magic. The highest deity is Yumala,² which name is employed wherever Christian influences crop up in the poem ; and Schiefner usually translates the word " God ;" but Yumala likewise seems to be identified with Ukko, described as an old man dwelling in the sky—a representation not very dissimilar to the Middle Age conception of God the Father. Nature-gods of the second grade are Tapio and his family, the gods of the forests ; Ahto and Vellamo, the chief god and goddess of the waters ; and various others. The sun and moon and the seven stars of the Great Bear are frequently mentioned ; but the heavenly bodies do not appear to be worshipped, though the sun and moon are distinct personalities. The evil powers are Tuoni or Mana, the Pluto of the North (the name Kalma is also used for Death) ; Hiisi or Lempo, the mischief-maker, &c.

The gods are constantly appealed to, and sometimes lend their aid to one combatant until they are gained over, or perhaps forced by incantations to go over to another. All nature is animated : iron, the product of the milk of the cloud-maidens, is represented as the brother of fire and water ; and apparently, though the

² Jumala. The Finnish j, as in most Continental languages, is our consonantal y, which I substitute for it, though it must be observed that y is a Finnish vowel, and = ü in German.

passage is somewhat obscure, likewise of the heroes; the bear is looked upon with great reverence; the serpent is dreaded as having been formed from the spittle of the hag Syoyator, by Hiisi, after the Creator had declared that nothing but evil could come of it; and trees and boats bewail their evil destiny with human voices. Even the beer stored in casks for a wedding calls upon the guests to drink it. But notwithstanding the deeply-rooted belief in magic and in nature-gods which we find in the Kalevala, prayers are usually addressed to Yumala, or Ukko, and rarely to other gods, except when they relate to matters specially belonging to their jurisdiction. We find nothing like indiscriminate fetish-worship.

The accounts of the creation and of the birth of the heroes are not always consistent or complete. In the first Runo, after a preamble differing from, but occasionally somewhat resembling that of Hiawatha, the Virgin of the Air is described as descending into the sea, where she is impregnated by the winds and waves. It will be remembered that Longfellow's Nokomis falls from the moon to the prairie, where she brings forth Wenonah, who is seduced by Mudjekeewis, the West-Wind in person; and their son is Hiawatha. In the Kalevala, a duck builds her nest on the knees of Ilmatar, the daughter of the air, as she is floating, and the broken eggs form the heavens and the earth. After this, the goddess fashions the world,³ and brings forth the immortal minstrel Vainamoinen, who clears and cultivates the land.

We likewise hear of daughters of Creation, and of sons and daughters of the sun and moon, the latter of whom busy themselves with weaving, an art frequently mentioned, and held in high honour in the poem.

There are four principal heroes in the Kalevala. The first is the above-mentioned Vainamoinen. He is always called

Vaka Vanha Väinämöinen.

The second word means "old"; but translators and commentators are by no means agreed about the exact meaning of *vaka*. I prefer to translate

Vainamoinen, old and steadfast.

Schiefner's rendering, here, is one of his worst, he translates "alt und wahrhaft."⁴ This is peculiarly inappropriate, for Vaina-

³ In many original ballads, however, the Creation is attributed to Vainamoinen.

⁴ Paul, in the latest German version, has "brav and bieder," which is still farther from the original; the Swedish translator renders the line "Garne

moinen is very much in the habit of saying "the thing that is not," without any occasion whatever, and when he has one of these fits often upon him, it takes a long time before he comes to the end of his fabrications, and allows the truth to be ultimately forced from him. He was born old,⁵ and although he woos several young girls he cannot persuade any of them to become his wife, notwithstanding his wealth and wisdom, and the natural anxiety of the mothers of the young ladies that he should succeed in his suit. One of the girls leaps into the water, and becomes a mermaid, and another prefers his brother, Ilmarinen, who is younger and handsomer. In the latter part of the poem, Vainamoinen is represented as the father of his people, and as leading the expedition undertaken by the heroes to carry off the Sampo, or talisman of plenty, from Pohyola (Lapland), and counteracting all the evils which Louhi, the witch-queen, endeavours to bring upon his country in revenge. Sometimes, too, he plays the part of Orpheus, and charms all beings with his music. In the final Runo, Vainamoinen is dethroned by the child of the virgin Maryatta, takes to his boat, and sails away for ever, like Hiawatha. Vainamoinen, however, has his weaknesses, and though "steadfast" is a term which is often applicable to him, he can be unmanly enough at times. On his first expedition to Pohyola, his horse, as light as a pea-stalk, on which he is riding over the water, is shot under him by Youkahainen, whom he has defeated in a singing duel, and whose sister Aino has thrown herself into the water, in consequence of being pledged by Youkahainen to Vainamoinen. The latter, after being tossed about by the waves for some time, is at length borne away by an eagle, and set down in a swamp opposite the castle of Pohyola, where he weeps for three days and nights, until Louhi is informed of the strange sounds. She starts off in her boat, and offers him her daughter, if he will forge the Sampo for her; but he is so thoroughly homesick that he begs her to send him home, and promises to send his brother Ilmarinen the smith instead. Ilmarinen suspects foul play, and refuses to go; but Vainamoinen entices him to the top of a magic tree, from whence he is wafted to Pohyola on the wings of the wind. Nothing is more curious in the Kalevala than the almost omnipotent power of the heroes at one moment, and their absolute impotence to overcome even a trifling obstacle at another time.

Trygge Wäinämöinen," and the French translate *caka* by "imperturbable, or "ferme."

⁵ In the last Runo, however, the son of Maryatta reproaches him with the misdeeds of his youth.

Thus, Vainamoinen, notwithstanding this miracle, was quite unable to rescue himself either from the water or the swamp without the aid of the eagle and Louhi. The heroes dread most of all being lost in the swamps and forests.

The Sampo was forged by Ilmarinen for Louhi, from various magical substances with which she supplied him. There has been much discussion as to what this talisman (the name of which reminds us of the Sanpo River in Thibet) actually was. It appears to have been a kind of mill with three sides, on which corn, salt, and money were painted, and it had a brightly-coloured cover, to which great importance was attached. Three measures were also painted on it, and it used to grind three supplies of corn, for food, sale, and storage respectively. When Louhi hid it in a cavern of the stone mountain of Pohyola, it threw out three roots, and fixed itself so firmly that the strongest heroes could not even stir it till they had ploughed it up by the roots.

Ilmarinen, the second of the heroes, the Vulcan of the Kalevala, is represented as young, handsome, strong, and industrious, and much more honest and straightforward than Vainamoinen. However, he is a bad sailor, and dreads the dangers of the water. He declares frequently that he forged the dance of heaven; but he fails in some of his enterprises. When Louhi steals the sun and moon, and hides them in the mountain, where not even Ukko can find them, Ilmarinen forges a new sun and moon, but they will give no light; and when he has lost his first wife, the daughter of Louhi, to whom he was tenderly attached, and for whose love he had performed many great deeds, he transforms her recalcitrant sister into a sea-gull, and then forges himself a third wife of gold and silver, to which he can impart no warmth, and which nearly freezes him to death.

The third hero of the Kalevala is Lemminkainen, also called Ahti, Kaukolainen, or Kaukomieli. He is a dandy, like Longfellow's Pau-Puk-Keewis, to whom he has some points of resemblance, and whose name may be derived from one of his epithets. One of Schiefner's lines, of frequent occurrence,

"Er, der schöne Kaukomieli,"

corresponds exactly to Longfellow's

"He, the handsome Yenadizze."

He is described as young and handsome, with black hair, and of immense strength, but rash, impetuous, and foolhardy, and liable, like Vainamoinen, to allow himself to be grievously discouraged in

adversity. He is a proficient in magic, but much inferior in this respect to his mother, for whom he has the deepest affection and reverence, which is the redeeming feature in his character.

Wherever he goes he makes havoc with the fair sex, and therefore, notwithstanding his high breeding, and at times courtly manners, Louhi expressly refuses to invite him to her daughter's wedding with Ilmarinen; but he afterwards declares that only bad men go where they are invited, and good men invite themselves with their swords; so he forces his way through all manner of magical perils into the castle of Pohyola, which has been very strongly fortified against him, grossly insults the inmates, and after an unsatisfactory magical combat with the chief, finally slays him by stratagem in a duel with swords, and is then compelled to fly for his life in the shape of an eagle.

Kullervo, the fourth hero, does not belong to the brotherhood of the others. His father, Kalervo, and his uncle, Untamo, are at variance, and Untamo ravages Kalervo's farm, drives him away, and brings up the infant Kullervo as a slave. But Kullervo vows vengeance against Untamo in his cradle, like the heroes of some of the Danish ballads,⁶ and Untamo makes fruitless efforts to destroy him. At last he abandons the attempt, and tries to turn his slave's superhuman strength to his own profit. But the one thought of Kullervo's life is revenge, and he can do no useful work either for Untamo, for Ilmarinen, to whom Untamo sells him, and whose wife he delivers over to the wolves and bears; nor even for his own father; and all his efforts at work only result in mischief. Kullervo is a more guilty *Œdipus*, pursued by the fearful consequences of his own and others' misdeeds, until he and nearly all his friends and enemies are involved in utter ruin and destruction.

His youthful feats evidently suggested these of Kwasind to Longfellow, although Longfellow, as usual, has avoided any very close imitation. Thus, when Untamo orders Kullervo to build a fence, he rears it to the clouds, but leaves no gate by which it is possible to pass it. In the corresponding passage in *Hiawatha*, Kwasind and his father find a forest-path blocked:

"We must go back," said the old man,
 "O'er these logs we cannot clamber,
 Not a wood-chuck could get through them,
 Not a squirrel clamber o'er them."⁷

But Kwasind easily clears away the obstructions. We find the

⁶ Compare "Sir Loumor" (Prior's *Danish Ballads*, vol. i. p. 29), &c.

⁷ This passage, like several others in *Hiawatha*, exhibits a more clumsy verification than we ever find in Longfellow's models.

same vague general resemblance, with the details carefully altered, in other feats related of Kullervo and Kwasind, although the characters have nothing in common beyond their superhuman strength.

The Kalevala presents us with many passages of great delicacy of sentiment and expression, and sometimes of much pathos. Its moral tone, especially with reference to the domestic virtues, is far higher than we might expect to meet with in a poem of similar archaic character. There is hardly an immodest expression to be found in the whole book, not even in the account of the many amours of Lemminkainen. On the other hand, the descriptions of the various monstrous giants, beasts, birds, serpents, and fishes occasionally encountered by the heroes are generally full of grotesque and childish exaggerations. Thus we are told, concerning the great bull that was slaughtered for Ilmarinen's wedding-feast, that it would take a weasel a week to traverse his yoke, a swallow a whole day to fly from the tip of one horn to the other, and a squirrel more than a month to run from his shoulder to the tip of his tail. Some of the serpents might vie with those of the Mahabharata; and Lemminkainen finds the outer wall of the castle of Pohyola formed of wattled serpents, like the Hall of Serpents in Naströnd, described in the Edda, except that their heads are turned outwards instead of inwards.

However, resemblances between the Kalevala and the Edda are not very numerous. The ash Yggdrasil had three roots; so had the Sampo; and the Sampo itself suggests the mill in the Mill-song (*Grottasöugr*), and was likewise sunk in the sea. The constituents of which it was formed, too, though not the same, have some resemblance to those used by the dwarfs in the manufacture of the chain Gleipnir. It has been suggested that either Louhi or Lemminkainen is analogous to Loki; but I can see no resemblance between them. The real analogue of Loki is Hiisi, of whom we often hear in the Kalevala, though we do not make his actual acquaintance. Least of all can Louhi be identified with Loki, beyond the (probably accidental) similarity of name; for Louhi is a careful housewife and a good mother, and, except that she sets almost impossible tasks before her daughter's suitors (and she was fully justified in doing her best to get rid of Lemminkainen), she does not appear as the enemy of the heroes, until she is roused to fury by the loss of her husband and two of her daughters, and the robbery of the Sampo, which last calamity reduces her country to poverty and wretchedness. The misery of Pohyola and the plagues

which Louhi sends upon Vainamoinen and his people seem to me to indicate the date of this portion of the poem as about the latter half of the fourteenth century, when the Black Death, which would probably enter Finland from the north, and the atmospheric and terrestrial disturbances which accompanied it, would still be fresh in the minds of the people. Other portions of the poem are doubtless of different periods; and the last Runo, which exhibits curious traces of Christianity, is no doubt one of the latest of all. Mar-yatta, the shepherd-girl, is impregnated by swallowing a magic berry, and is sent by Ruotus (Herod), one of the head men of her village, who is represented as a rich fop and a bully, into a stable, where her child is born. Afterwards, when the child disappears from her lap, she inquires after him of a star, the moon, and the sun. The two first refuse to tell her, complaining that he created them to keep cold vigil through the night; but at last the sun directs her to him.

There is much local colouring in the Kalevala. Foreign countries are rarely mentioned at all, even those most nearly adjacent; and the sea is much less often alluded to than the vast lakes, swamps, and forests. The domestic economy and the daily lives and occupations of the Finns are portrayed in a very lively manner. We obtain a clear insight into the Finnish household, and the duties and relations of its various members. Women are usually treated with great respect, and are the companions and equals of their husbands. Occasionally, it is true, we hear of scolding wives and brutal husbands; but they are the exceptions, and not the rule. Parents and children live together on affectionate terms, and men frequently seek counsel from their mothers, another point of similarity between the Kalevala and the Danish Ballads,⁸ in which latter, heroes often appeal to their mothers, or even to their nurses, in cases of difficulty.

Lönnrot has been called by his admirers the Finnish Homer, and some of the admirers of the Kalevala have gone so far as to compare it to the Iliad, which it certainly resembles in having been put together from the national ballads of a people. However, parallels occasionally occur, the most noticeable being perhaps the relations between Lemminkainen and his mother, who mourns over him sometimes like Thetis over Achilles. Sometimes, too, she speculates about his proceedings in a very similar way to that in which Helen in the third book of the Iliad, ponders over the fate of her brothers.

⁸ "Habo and Signild," (Prior., i. p. 216); "Knight Stig's Wedding," ii. p. 339.

The metre of the Kalevala is approximately that of Hiawatha, but Finnish is a very compact language, and the short lines usually consist of three words only, sometimes two, and rarely four. In any Western European language, many more words are often required, so that it is difficult to give the exact force of the original. Nevertheless, a metrical translation could easily be made, both effective and fairly exact, whereas any prose translation would convey no real idea of the original. And although Schiefner's is the oldest translation of the second recension, and not always quite correct (as we have seen in his erroneous rendering of "vaka") it is still, on its own intrinsic merits, apart from its being probably the edition used by Longfellow, peculiarly well adapted to form the model of an English version. The Swedish versions are in the same metre, and read equally smoothly; so, I believe, is the Hungarian; the French is in prose.

It is somewhat remarkable that a poem like the Kalevala, so interesting to students of almost every branch of antiquarian and ethnological research, and to those who love literature for its own sake, should not be better known in England, though it has not infrequently formed the subject of magazine articles, and is sometimes noticed in books on Folk-Lore, as, for instance, in Mr Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth*, pp. 156-179.

W. F. KIRBY.

All communications should be directed to "The Editor, *Archæological Review*," 270 Strand W.C.

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